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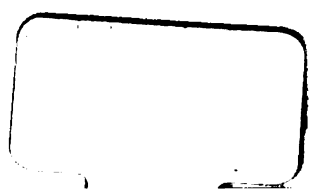

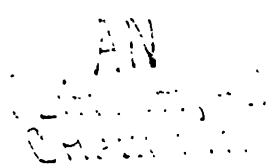

VOLUME II

PRESIDENT LINCOLN DURING THE BATTLE OF GETTYSBURG

From a painting by Brisley for Dr. Ervin Chapman, and now in his collection.

(*See page 385*)

Latest Light

on

Abraham Lincoln

and War-time Memories

Including many Heretofore Unpublished Incidents and Historical Facts concerning his Ancestry, Boyhood, Family, Religion, Public Life, Trials and Triumphs

ILLUSTRATED

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BY

ERVIN CHAPMAN, D.D., LL.D.

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WITH INTRODUCTION BY
BISHOP JOHN W. HAMILTON

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I

REMINISCENCES OF SECOND INAUGURATION

THIS book had its inception at about one o'clock on the afternoon of Saturday, March 4th, 1865, during the six minutes of my absorbing attention to the delivery of Abraham Lincoln's second inaugural address. That my attention was absorbing is evidenced by the fact that on the following day I was astonished to discover that I could repeat the address in its entirety with almost verbal accuracy, although I had neither seen it in print nor exchanged one word with any person concerning it. But during its delivery it held me so transfixed and entranced that each one of its seven hundred and two magic words was imprinted upon my mind as is a photographic picture upon a highly sensitized plate. Equally vivid was the picture of the entire scene that stood out before me, the central heroic figure standing erect, with scarce a movement save the handling of his manuscript, the one unstudied swaying of his massive head, and the shifting of his shoulders as he uttered with rhythmic emphasis and distinct enunciation, the sentence which is most widely known and most devoutly cherished of all his classic sayings—"With malice toward none; with charity for all."

To have heard these words spoken by Abraham Lincoln upon the occasion which gave them their peculiar meaning was to experience an ecstatic wonderment which with recurrent movement ever since has filled my soul as they have been brought to recollection. Under the inspiration of that memorable inauguration and the wonderful inaugral address there took possession of my being a high purpose to give the world in abiding form, a record of the scenes I was witnessing,

and an account of some of the distinctive features of the life which at that time reached the zenith of early glory. That purpose for more than half a century has held its place, and now finds fruition in this volume which I hope may contribute to a better understanding of one of the most interesting and instructive characters in modern history.

The inauguration ceremonies were conducted upon a very large temporary platform constructed at the east front of the Capitol building, covering and extending far out beyond the broad marble stairs which lead up to the eastern entrance of the rotunda—the great circular room beneath the Capitol Dome. This platform was so inclined as to be fully exposed to view from every part of the east-front Capitol grounds, and was provided with seats for a large number of specially favored guests. The city was thronged with people from all parts of the country, each one intent upon witnessing the ceremonies to the best possible advantage. Being employed in the Capitol building I had excellent opportunities while the platform was being built to select the most desirable place for witnessing the inauguration ceremonies and hearing the inaugural address. My choice was made with deliberation and without difficulty, but to secure and hold the chosen position was not so easy. It was my first opportunity to attend a Presidential inauguration and I was determined to make the most of it. Therefore, in the drenching rain of that cold March morning, a few minutes before seven o'clock, I took my station about twenty feet from the platform and directly in front of where I knew the President would stand while delivering his address and receiving the oath of office. For more than an hour I was the only occupant of the space upon which before noon, according to estimates at the time, fifty thousand men and women were shivering in the drenching rain, and either crowding to gain better positions or stubbornly holding those they had secured.

The scene was so inspiring and my anticipations were so vivid that I did not experience the least discomfort during

the five hours of exposure to the cold precipitation which continued until twelve o'clock, and was followed by an hour of constant indications of further rain.

At noon, however, the storm ceased, and within thirty minutes the seats provided on the platform for invited guests were all occupied save those of the front section, which were reserved for the Presidential party and for invited guests who were attending the closing sessions of the two Houses of Congress, and witnessing the opening of the special session of the Senate called by the President. I was standing where I could see each one who came upon the platform, and I recognized among the number many of the nation's most distinguished citizens. While the multitude was gathering upon the platform and on the grounds, many famous bands contributed patriotic music, but the rain prevented the free and effective use of the fife and drum, at that time so essential to the fitting inspiration of such an assembly; and the sense of that lack lingered in the memory as an undefined yet real defect.

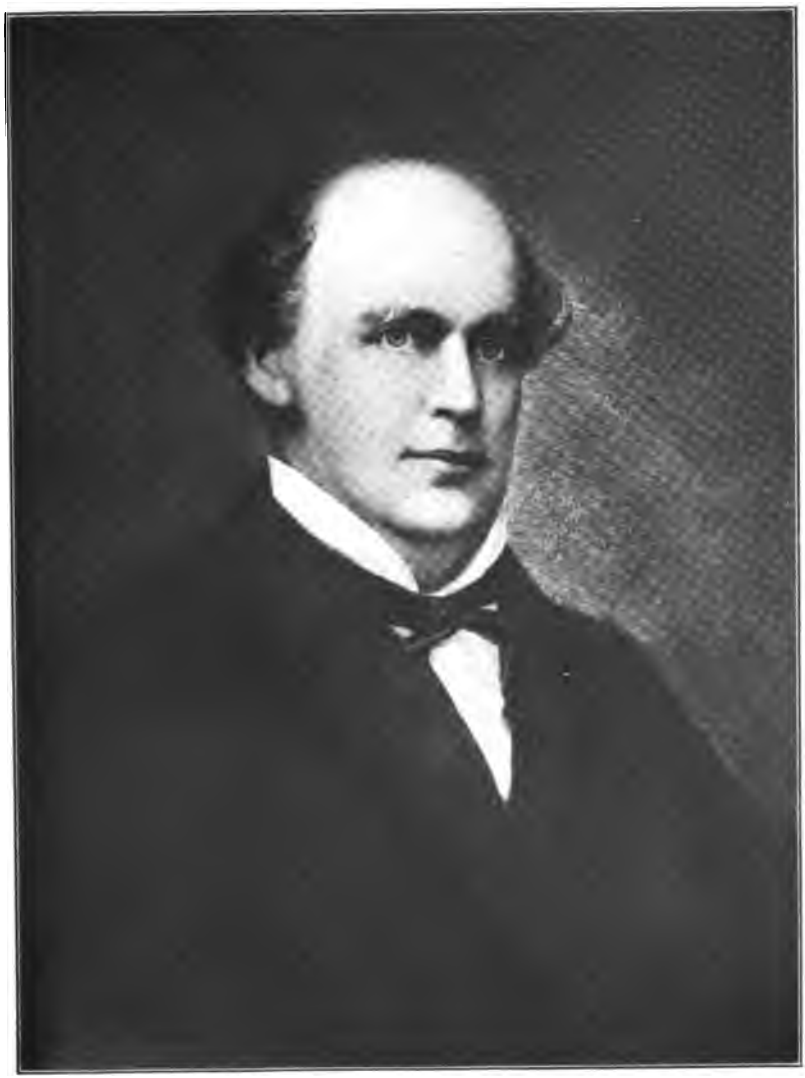
At twelve o'clock noon on that 4th of March, the thirty-eighth Congress of the United States ceased to exist and the strife and struggle of its closing activities were in tumultuous progress while the crowds were gathering outside to witness the inauguration. In the President's room near the senate chamber Mr. Lincoln was signing bills which had passed the two Houses of Congress and, immediately following the adjournment of Congress, the special session of the senate convened, and Andrew Johnson was inaugurated as Vice-President of the United States and President of the Senate. President Lincoln was in attendance upon these ceremonies and accompanied by the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court immediately thereafter led the procession which passing out of the south door of the senate chamber proceeded through the long corridor to the great rotunda, and then turned east to the wide doorway opening out upon the inauguration platform.

It was nearly one o'clock when, from where I stood, there was seen a peculiar movement among the guards standing just outside those wide doors and between the magnificent Corinthian pillars of the Capitol. This indicated that the Presidential party was approaching, and in an instant the tumult was hushed to profound silence, and one could feel the waves of patriotic enthusiasm and devotion that swept over that immense assembly.

All eyes were turned to where the stalwart figures of the President and Chief Justice Chase were seen emerging through the wide door of the rotunda and advancing out upon the upper landing of the broad marble stairway and down the steps to the seats assigned them at the front and center of the great temporary platform. They were followed by the Justices of the United States Supreme Court, clothed in their long black official robes; members of the Cabinet and of both Houses of Congress; members of the diplomatic corps, each in the court costume of his country, and a large number of army and navy officers in brilliant uniform, together with many distinguished persons from all parts of the land.

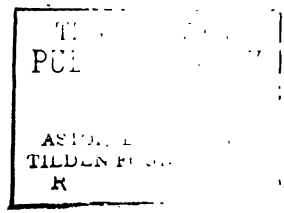
The new Vice-President, Andrew Johnson, with Senator James R. Doolittle of Wisconsin, who accompanied him, were in the procession and were assigned seats at the front of the platform on the right of the President and the Chief Justice.

During all the morning and up to the time the Presidential party appeared there had not been a ray of sunshine, but just as President Lincoln stepped from beneath the shelter of the Capitol building, in front of the great eastern colonnade and out upon the platform, there was suddenly a wide opening in the thick black clouds above us, and the bright, glorious sunshine illuminated all the scene with ineffable splendor and beauty. The melancholy features of the President instantly became radiant with the joy we have since learned was awakened in his heart by the good omen from above; and the great waiting throng inspired by his coming and gladdened by that omen, greeted the sunburst with re-



CHIEF JUSTICE SALMON PORTLAND CHASE

who, on the 4th of March, 1865, administered the oath of office to President Abraham Lincoln.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ligious and patriotic fervor and enthusiasm. On the next day in greeting an esteemed caller, the President said: "Was not that burst of sunshine glorious? It made my heart jump."

The entrance of that large company of distinguished people and their distribution on the platform was a thrillingly imposing pageant. If they had gathered from different points and at intervals as the multitude had assembled upon the campus the spectacle would have been less graphic. But they all came pouring out at the same point and advanced with steady movement down to their respective stations. It seemed that the great rotunda from which they came was an arena in which the stalwart champions of human interests had been engaged in furious and successful combat with their enemies and from which they were marching out to receive the plaudits of the people.

In the personnel of its participants that pageant was never equalled in our nation's history. At other times there have been greater numbers in the procession, but on no other occasion has there been such a moving company of men and women of such high and heroic mold. The long struggles against slavery and the four years of war had engaged the efforts of people of the highest type who, by their warfare on behalf of freedom and human rights, had been developed to heroic measurements. No other administration and no Congress in our history contained so large a percentage of members of extraordinary character and talent as the nation had at that time. And they looked the part, never appearing to better advantage than when moving in that picturesque procession or massed upon that platform.

It was peculiarly fitting that that advancing column should be headed by the two men most fully typical of the two classes of high-grade American citizenship. The Chief Justice was at that time without a peer as a type of the best results of careful and wise breeding and thorough educational development and training. Descended from long lines of able and distinguished ancestors he was early recognized as worthy

of his lineage and was put in training for high distinction. In personal appearance and bearing he was majestic, tall, well formed, with massive head, and features indicative of great intellectual endowments and force of character. He was a finished product of the best New England stock and was generally regarded as unexcelled in the qualities thus produced.

But he was outclassed by the man who marched beside him in that inaugural procession. Chase was great, Lincoln was peerless. Chase was erect and dignified; Lincoln towered above him, too great for any touch of self-conscious mannerism. The features of Chase were like carved and polished marble; those of Lincoln were like deeply chiselled granite, roughened by the storm and tempest. Chase marched with precise and measured tread. Lincoln stepped along the way like a trained athlete whose well developed and supple muscles are like those of the graceful monarch of the jungle. In the appearance and movements of Chase his high class and cultured ancestry reappeared; Lincoln's giant frame and magnetic personality were the embodiment of an elect company of forebears developed, cultured and trained in the struggles of early frontier life, and in the spell which his presence cast upon all who saw him were revealed potentialities which were more than human. There were counterparts of Chase in some of the distinguished men upon the platform, and here and there were men who resembled Lincoln,

> "Men of mould,
> Well embodied, well ensouled,"

as Emerson aptly says.

From the moment he appeared leading that procession, my whole being was engaged in the study of Abraham Lincoln. After he was seated, and while the members of the Presidential party were being assigned their stations, my opportunities to study the great leader were better than I had before enjoyed. He was sitting only a few feet from

the place where I was standing with his face turned in that direction, his uncovered head and rugged features illuminated by the bright and benignant sunshine. He appeared perfectly at ease, giving no heed to what was before or around him, and without the least indication of nervous tension or agitation. His head was not wholly erect as during the years of his titanic struggles in Illinois, but was slightly bowed as in meditation, and his massive shoulders were bent as with a great burden, giving the appearance of great strength and power of endurance. His eyes had a far-away, dreamy look, and there was not the slightest movement of the hand, head or features from the time he took his seat until he arose to speak. The great multitude was in a tumult of enthusiasm, but he seemed unconscious of their display of admiration and loyalty, being intent on matters of great magnitude and moment. During the six years immediately preceding that inauguration I had given much attention to the study of Abraham Lincoln. I had seen him upon other important occasions and had been with him until I thought I had formed an approximately accurate estimate of his dimensions, but never until I stood before him on that memorable 4th of March did I realize the immense power of his personality and his measureless reserve force.

His silence was eloquent; his meditation audible; his tranquillity dynamic; his repose instinct with action, and his solemn melancholy sparkled with humor and good cheer. From his tremendous personality there flowed currents of mystic power that were resistless in their influence upon the convictions and purposes of those about him. My sensitive nature responded to those waves of magnetic force while in rapturous bewilderment I sought to discover the secret of his greatness, and I was unconsciously lifted to a higher level of purpose by a silent influence which I felt but could not understand. Never after those moments of apocalyptic vision was I the same as I had been before. The time was too brief for further reflections, for soon all were seated,

and without a signal or word of introduction Mr. Lincoln arose and advanced close to the railing, as near as possible to the great throng before him, with his right hand touching the table by his side and his left hand holding his manuscript. Thus he stood in silence while cheers and shouts seemed to rend the heavens with their volume and intensity. I had been in vast and enthusiastic gatherings before that day, but never had I heard anything so suggestive of the expression, "a sound like the voice of many waters," as were the salvos of applause that greeted President Lincoln as he stood before that throng.

There were thousands in that cheering crowd whose chief desire was not so much to witness the inaugural pageantry as to see and hear the President, and to express their patriotic loyalty by their presence and their enthusiastic demonstrations. They could see their hero who stood in plain view of each one, with his great wealth of coal black hair and long black coat forming a becoming framework for his strong, swarthy face, but many of them were late in coming, and unfortunately were compelled to take positions so far from the platform that they had no expectation of being able to hear a word of the inaugural address. Therefore, the continuance of the deafening applause was not as objectionable to them as it was to those of us who had secured positions near the platform.

There was no signal for silence from the President, no lifting of the hand or other movement, but an invisible influence from the silent and fixed figure before them soon hushed the multitude to a profound silence which became oppressive while the President delayed the beginning of his address. Then the first two words he uttered flew like a flaming dart out over the astonished people. What he said was startling because it was unique and utterly unexpected. Those first two words thrilled me through and through like recurrent waves of electricity, and upon others also, as I have learned, their influence was the same. In his first inaugural address,

Mr. Lincoln began with the customary words, "Fellow Citizens"; but the long and bloody struggle of the war had caused the people to become more to the great-hearted chieftain than is signified by those almost hackneyed words, therefore, in this the greatest of all his state papers and addresses, by divine inspiration, as I believe, Mr. Lincoln revealed the strength and tenderness of his affection for the people by saying, "Fellow Countrymen!"

But far more thrilling than the words themselves was the remarkable manner in which they were spoken. Abraham Lincoln was probably the only man then in public life who would have uttered those words in such a fashion. Any other man in all probability would have begun his address in tones heard by only a limited number of that great company, and would have increased the volume of his voice as he proceeded; and it is not likely that more than one-third of that large number of eager listeners would have been able distinctly to hear one word of his address. Mr. Lincoln was not like the minister who, when asked how he prepared his sermons, replied, "I regard my sermons as a work of art, and I prepare and deliver them accordingly"; but was rather like another minister, who answered the same question by saying: "I regard my sermons as I do my fishing tackle, and I think only of the fish I hope to catch."

Always ardently in love with the people, Mr. Lincoln earnestly endeavored to have every word of his address heard by all who were present. His long experience upon the stump had taught him that the man whom it was most important for him to reach and influence—the man not fully in sympathy with him—was the one sitting or standing farthest back in the audience. He had also learned that the words distinctly heard and understood by that man would certainly be heard by all others in the audience. Other public speakers also knew this, but Mr. Lincoln acted upon it; therefore, in delivering his inaugural address, after a very impressive pause, he thrilled and delighted every one by uttering those two

introductory words in a voice so strong and clear as to be distinctly heard by those who were most distant from him. Instantly, hundreds of voices from all parts of the most distant sections of that enormous throng responded by shouting, "Good, good!" in tones expressive of their surprise and joy at being able to hear those words so plainly. "Good," indeed it was! No other word could so well express their joy, and that monosyllable was quite sufficient. It told the story of their delight at being rewarded for their long and expensive journeys to Washington by being able to hear the inaugural address as delivered by the man whom they held in highest admiration and affection.

The President seemed equally surprised by the prompt and hearty response to his salutation, as the people had been by his words and manner, and he stood in silence for a moment before continuing his address. Then upon the same high key, with voice as clear as the tones of a silver trumpet, he proceeded deliberately to declare his great message to mankind. There was not the least display of special effort to be heard, though not a word of that address failed to reach every one of that listening assembly. I was then a young man with high ambition to become, if possible, an effective public speaker. For that I had by the aid of books and schools made careful and thorough preparation and I had heard the master orators of the day. But my best instruction in the art of public discourse was received during the six minutes occupied by the delivery of Abraham Lincoln's second inaugural address. There was no effort at oratorical display, no endeavor to be impressive, not the slightest mannerism of any kind whatsoever. Mr. Lincoln seemed to have no thought of his address as "a work of art," or other than a message of Jehovah to His chastened and suffering people to whom He was about to give redemption and deliverance. His whole manner was calculated to elicit and hold that rapt attention with which the people listened to his message. And he seemed to desire and expect just what his hearers so plentifully gave.

Only once was he interrupted by applause, and that came most unexpectedly at the close of a peculiarly significant statement and gave solemn emphasis to the next very brief sentence.

Speaking of conditions in the nation four years before he said: "Both parties deprecated war; but one of them would make war rather than let the nation survive; and the other would accept war rather than let it perish." So tense had the feelings of the audience become that at the close of that sentence a storm of applause burst forth from all the throng and continued for a considerable time with very great force. The President, though seemingly surprised, was undisturbed by the interruption, and when the applause ceased he very deliberately and with most impressive solemnity uttered the four words of the next sentence, "And the war came." There were tears in the tone in which those words were spoken which touched the hearts of those who heard him, and prepared them to listen in silence to the succeeding portions of the address.

A little later in the address the people were moved as standing grain at harvest time is swayed by the evening breeze, but there was no demonstration, for the impression was too deep and too peculiar to be fittingly expressed. My own experiences were probably like those of others, and when he said, "It may seem strange that any men should dare to ask a just God's assistance in wringing their bread from the sweat of other men's faces," my hands involuntarily were clinched in righteous indignation, which instantly vanished when he added, "But let us judge not that we be not judged." Considered in connection with Mr. Lincoln's conception of the character of slavery, together with his life struggles and hardships which preceded that day, and the awful experiences and desolation of four years of war, which was even then in progress, the spirit manifested by the quotation of the Saviour's words was never surpassed by any save the incarnate Son of God.

Never did I listen to a discourse which at the time it was being delivered seemed more impressively religious than did that inaugural address. It seemed like a very instructive and helpful sermon on law and gospel, greatly enriched and strengthened by appropriate passages of Scripture, clearly and correctly interpreted and most fittingly applied. It caused all the subsequent inauguration ceremonies to be pervaded by a religious atmosphere and gave great significance to the use of the Bible in administering the oath of office. Four times did Mr. Lincoln quote from the Scriptures while delivering that address, twice from the Old Testament—from Genesis and the Psalms—and twice from the words of Jesus as recorded by Matthew. Of the seven hundred and two words in that address, two hundred and sixty-six—more than one-third—were quoted verbatim from the Word of God, or were employed in expounding and applying the quoted passages. And never were passages of Scripture more aptly quoted nor more fittingly applied. I had for years been a diligent Bible student, but never until that day did I realize the tremendous meaning of the Saviour's words: "Woe unto the world because of offenses! for it must needs be that offenses come; but woe to that man by whom the offense cometh." Mr. Lincoln's interpretation of that passage as teaching the great law of divine retribution made a most profound and salutary impression upon those who heard it, and ever since it has grown in significance and force. It was a truth upon which he had pondered long and earnestly. A declaration of that truth was the most striking feature of his interview with Dr. Newton Bateman in 1860, and was repeated in various forms many times during succeeding years. Eleven months before his second inauguration Mr. Lincoln stated that truth in his Hodges-Bramlette letter, in language almost identical with that employed in the inaugural address. In his letter to Thurlow Weed, written eleven days after the inauguration, he indicated that he regarded his declaration of the law of retribution as taught in the words of Jesus

as the distinguishing feature of his address. And while he believed that his reference to that divine law caused his inaugural address to be as he said, "not immediately popular," at the same time he confidently added: "It is a truth which I thought needed to be told, and as whatever of humiliation there is in it falls most directly on myself, I thought others might afford for me to tell it." So important did Mr. Lincoln regard the enunciation of that truth upon that occasion that he referred to it a second time as follows: "Fondly do we hope—fervently do we pray—that this mighty scourge of war may speedily pass away. Yet, if God wills that it continue until all the wealth piled by the bondman's two hundred and fifty years of unrequited toil shall be sunk, and until every drop of blood drawn by the lash shall be paid by another drawn with the sword, as was said three thousand years ago, so still it must be said, 'The judgments of the Lord are true and righteous altogether.'"

I was more deeply impressed by that passage than by any other portion of the address, and the same was evidently the case with many others. I was thrilled by its poetic beauty, and melted by its humble and submissive spirit. I still doubt if there can be found in literature a passage that surpasses it in startling and graphic imagery and in dynamic force. At one and the same time it reveals the yearning heart of hope, the uplifted eye of prayer, the listening ear of conscious guilt, the voice of righteous divine judgment and the bowed head of penitence. Its language is chaste, and moves gracefully along the high level of the inspired Word which it quotes as its climax with faultless fitness.

It is now more than half a century since I heard that inaugural address, and from that day to the present, when I hear or read the 19th Psalm, I have a vivid recollection of seeing the form of Abraham Lincoln standing in the illuminating light of that sunny afternoon and hearing him say, "The judgments of the Lord are true and righteous altogether." Early in life I memorized that Psalm and for many

years, upon the flying train, in the bustling throng, when overworked, weary and wakeful at night, or when the tension of pain, sorrow, or anxiety seemed to require relaxation, I have repeated that peculiarly precious portion of God's Word, but I never reach that passage without pausing and lingering in remembrance upon the time when I heard those words spoken by Abraham Lincoln.

As the last word of the address was spoken the audience responded with very hearty applause, and the President calmly turned to the Chief Justice, who prómptly arose, and advancing received from the Clerk of the Supreme Court a copy of the Bible which had been provided for the occasion. The applause instantly ceased and there was deep and impressive silence in all the company during that solemn ceremony. The Chief Justice, holding the Bible in his left hand, raised his right hand, and the President with his right hand lifted in like manner placed his left hand reverently upon the open Volume, and the two great men stood face to face each looking steadily into the other's eye, while the President repeated the oath of office, sentence by sentence, after the words were spoken by the Chief Justice.

The scene was impressive beyond all possible description. The background of the picture was significant, the great audience of distinguished guests on the inclined platform extended back to the colonnade of the magnificent white Capitol building, with the Goddess of Liberty standing upon the summit of the high dome and then for the first time looking down upon a Presidential inauguration; with all eyes turned upon the two strong figures standing motionless at the front of the platform, the whole scene bathed in glorious sunshine, and the deep and solemn silence broken only by the voices of the two men as they responsively repeated the oath of office required by the Constitution of the nation. Mr. Lincoln's voice was in marked contrast with that of the Chief Justice; the latter, although speaking in tones of wonderful depth and volume, was heard by only a limited number, while

BIBLE ON WHICH LINCOLN TOOK OATH OF OFFICE

the former repeating after him in clear and ringing tones the sentences of the oath sent his voice far out to the most distant listeners.

When with special emphasis he had uttered the concluding words—"So help me God"—Mr. Lincoln reverently bowed his head, and fervently kissed the Bible; and as he did so his lips touched the 27th and 28th verses of the fifth chapter of Isaiah, which read as follows: "None shall be weary nor stumble among them; none shall slumber nor sleep; neither shall the girdle of their loins be loosed, nor the latchet of their shoes be broken: Whose arrows are sharp, and all their bows bent, their horses' hoofs shall be counted like flint, and their wheels like a whirlwind."

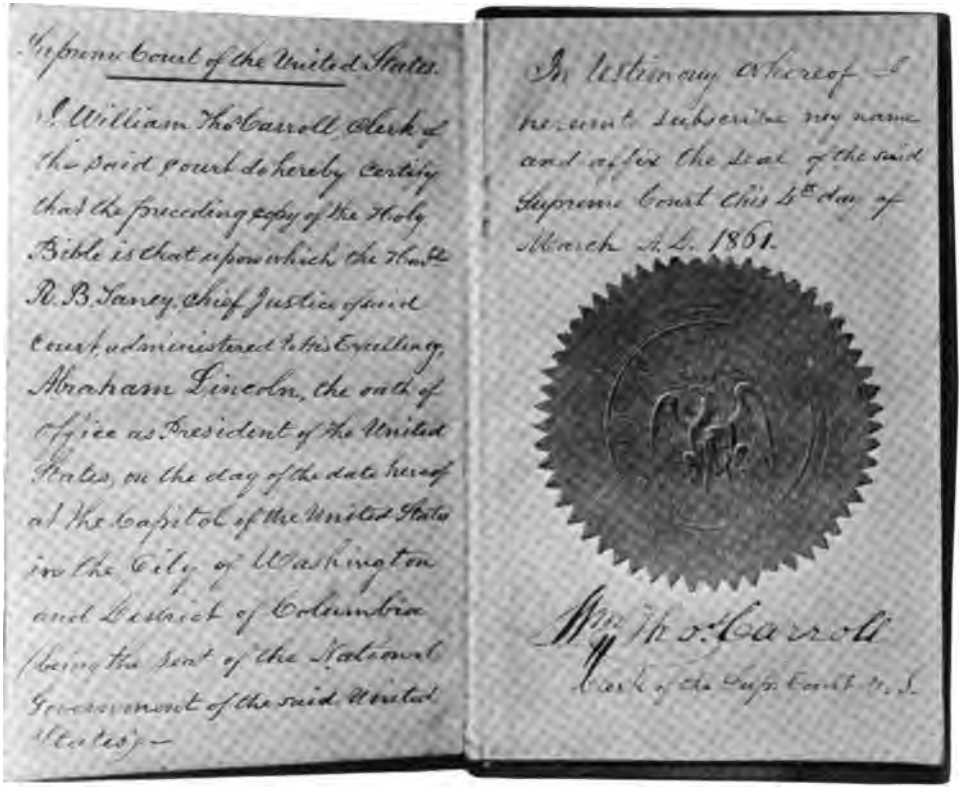
The copy of the Bible containing those verses, marked by the Chief Justice, was on the following day given by him to Mrs. Lincoln; but the most diligent search, extending over a period of many years, has failed to find it. As Mr. Lincoln uttered the last word of his official oath the booming of cannon announced to the world that the exercises of the day had been brought to a successful close, and that the new administration had been ushered in.

At that point there occurred an event which I believe has never been mentioned in any published account of this inauguration. Many histories of those times make mention of Andrew Johnson's intoxication at the time he received in the senate chamber the oath of office as Vice-President, just before the Presidential inauguration; but they contain no account of his connection with an episode which followed the taking of the oath of office by President Lincoln. I can understand this omission only by supposing that those who have given accounts of these inaugural proceedings if present at the time were sitting upon the platform with the invited guests and did not witness the incident. But, as already stated, I was standing directly in front of the platform, only a few feet from where the ceremonies were being conducted, and I saw all that I am here stating. Just as President Lincoln

turned from kissing the Bible there arose from the audience before him an almost terrific call for Andrew Johnson, "Andy, Andy, speech, speech!" was the cry of the multitude, and Mr. Lincoln, who, a little time before, had seen the disgraceful proceedings in the senate, advanced to the platform railing with nervous haste, and with dramatic earnestness shook his head commandingly to the tempestuous throng. But there was little abatement of the call for Johnson, whose torrid temperament and violent denunciation of treason and rebellion had made him a popular idol, and when President Lincoln, after shaking his head, waved a salutation to the audience and turned to depart, the call for the new Vice-President was renewed with increased volume and violence.

For a time Mr. Johnson gave no heed to this call, but he finally arose and came forward with the evident purpose of speaking. In manifest bewilderment he stood for a moment in silence, and then covering his eyes with his right hand stood motionless as if trying to collect his thoughts. His face was flushed and seemed slightly swollen, and many voices in the audience were heard saying, "He is sick! He is sick! He cannot speak!" And before he could gain command of his great resources his devoted friend, Senator Doolittle, hastily advanced, and taking his arm conducted him into the retiring procession, up the steps into the rotunda. I had not a thought, and heard no intimation, that the affair had any undesirable significance. I knew that it was not a time for any proceedings not connected with the inaugural ceremonies, and I supposed that what President Lincoln did in disapproving of the call for Johnson was on that account. I heard no reference to the matter at the time, and as I left Washington that evening for a visit to my Ohio home, it was several days before I learned of Mr. Johnson's unfortunate condition upon that occasion.

Andrew Johnson, though addicted to the habitual use of intoxicating liquors, was not a drunkard, as his condition that day seemed to indicate. He was often very considerably


Supreme Court of the United States.

I William Thos Carroll Clerk of the said Court do hereby Certify that the preceding copy of the Holy Bible is that upon which the Hon.ble R. B. Taney, Chief Justice of said Court, administered to His Excellency, Abraham Lincoln, the oath of Office as President of the United States, on the day of the date hereof at the Capitol of the United States in the City of Washington and District of Columbia (being the seat of the National Government of the said United States) —

In testimony whereof I have hereunto subscribed my name and affixed the seal of the said Supreme Court this 4th day of March A. D. 1861.

Wm Thos Carroll

Clerk of the Supr. Court U. S.

These cuts of the Bible and of the Court's Certificate are from photographs presented to the author by Hon. Robert T. Lincoln for publication in this work.

under the influence of liquor, but I never learned of his being at any other time as nearly maudlin drunk as upon that occasion. For some weeks preceding that day Mr. Johnson had been ill with ague at his home in Tennessee and was weak and nervous when he arrived at the Vice-President's room in the Capitol building for his induction into office. Stating his condition to the retiring Vice-President, Hannibal Hamlin, he asked for a glass of brandy, which Mr. Hamlin by sending out secured. According to Mr. Hamlin's statement, Mr. Johnson drank about one-third of the brandy at once, and a little later a like amount, and finally took the remainder in the glass as they passed out of the room to the senate chamber. A considerable amount of time was occupied by the proceedings in the senate before the oath of office was administered to the newly elected Vice-President, and when Mr. Johnson arose to speak he was thoroughly befuddled; and instead of giving the able and dignified address he was rightfully expected to deliver he compelled that large assembly of the world's able and distinguished representatives to listen for an extended period to his senseless and incoherent gibberish. It was an unspeakably pitiful and humiliating spectacle. Mr. Johnson had risen from ignorance, poverty and obscurity by his own heroic and persistent efforts until he had attained nation-wide distinction, and had been chosen by his loyal countrymen to the second office in the nation. He had stood heroically for right and honor and had courageously denounced treason and rebellion with unsparing severity and effectiveness. And on that fateful 4th of March he stood triumphant at the zenith of his highest known aspirations, enshrined in the affections of the nation and with every prospect of a distinguished future career. But from that eminence he fell; fell ignobly, fell by his own folly never again to rise to the heights of esteem and honor upon which he stood when he walked into that senate chamber which for years had been the arena of his contests with the forces of disloyalty. He fell just as he had reached the high

station from which he was destined very soon to pass into the most exalted position of authority in the world, as successor to Abraham Lincoln in the office of chief magistrate of the United States. And in falling he lost the popular esteem and confidence which would have been of priceless value in aiding him successfully to meet the requirements of that position. He fell because he voluntarily invited that disaster.

A little boy when told that he had fallen out of bed because he had lain too near where he got in, promptly replied, "No, I fell out of bed because I laid too near where I fell out." Andrew Johnson fell because he walked too near the precipice over which he made that headlong plunge. He was not drunk because he was a habitual drunkard, for that he was not; but because he was a habitual "moderate drinker." Had he been a total abstainer, as was Abraham Lincoln, and as was his noble and worthy predecessor, Hannibal Hamlin, the nation would not have been humiliated in the eyes of the world as it never had been before by the unseemly and ill-timed exhibition of ignoble weakness on the part of one of its most distinguished representatives.

So exasperated was President Lincoln by the incident that as he was passing out of the senate chamber he said to those in charge of the inaugural proceedings: "Do not permit Johnson to speak a word during the exercises that are now to follow."

One feature of that inauguration which afforded Mr. Lincoln special delight was the large attendance of colored people, and the presence of a company of colored soldiers as a military guard. Nothing of the kind had ever before occurred, and it was at that time especially suitable because it was not only, as already stated, the first Presidential inauguration beneath the great bronze statue of the Goddess of Liberty, but it was also the first Presidential inauguration of the nation free from slavery.

During the afternoon of that day I saw groups of people

at several widely separated points in the city all gazing toward the heavens, and at length I, too, paused and looked, and to my unspeakable surprise I saw a bright and beautiful star shining with undimmed splendor in close proximity to the unclouded king of day. It was about three o'clock, and the star was at the point which the sun had seemed to occupy about one hour before. I have never heard of any scientific explanation of this strange phenomenon, but I could not refrain from regarding it, as did many others who saw it, as an omen of good. It has been stated that President Lincoln and his attendants saw the star as they were returning from the Capitol to the White House, and that it gave the President great delight, as did the welcome sunburst at the inauguration. If not an omen from above that star was a beautiful and gladsome symbol of the star of hope which on that good day shone with celestial splendor in the hearts of the loyal people of the nation.

Mr. Lincoln's second inaugural address was prepared by him with painstaking care, and has come to be regarded not only as his literary masterpiece, but as a state paper unexcelled in all human history. From that noonday hour of rifting clouds and dazzling sunshine, on through the starlit afternoon that followed, and down to the present time, that address has steadily advanced in public favor, and in critical appreciation. No one ever has suggested for that address the addition or subtraction of a single word. It seems to be a faultless composite with each of its component parts fully disclosed; and no one is able to show that any one part is dominant. Its rhetoric is perfect; its history is full and complete; its statecraft is profound and far-seeing, and in every part it is illuminated by fitly chosen gems of sacred truth. With exalted majesty it proclaims the sovereignty of God and His inexorable law of righteous retribution, and with pathetic penitence bears witness that His judgments "are true and righteous altogether." In the submissive spirit of Gethsemane it holds up the rod of intercession and dazzles hu-

manity with its reflection of the celestial glory of the Cross by its "malice toward none" and its "charity for all." If not as pleasing as the Gettysburg address it is far greater and more lastingly impressive and potential. It is more than a masterpiece; it is an unclassed state paper and a literary solitaire. Dr. J. G. Holland declares that the address is "a paper whose Christian sentiments and whose reverent and pious spirit has no parallel among the state papers of the American Presidents."

Hon. Isaac N. Arnold referring to it says: "Since the days of Christ's Sermon on the Mount, where is the speech of emperor, king or ruler which can compare with this? May we not without irreverence say that passages of this address are worthy of that Holy Book which daily he read and from which during his long days of toil he had drawn inspiration and guidance? Where else but from the teachings of the Son of God could he have drawn that Christian charity which pervades the last sentence in which he so unconsciously describes his own moral nature: 'with malice toward none, with charity for all, with firmness in the right as God gives us to see the right.' No other state paper in American annals, not even Washington's farewell address, has made so deep an impression upon the people as this. This paper in its solemn recognition of the justice of Almighty God reminds us of the words of the old Hebrew prophets."

Mr. Arnold also tells us that a distinguished divine, after hearing the address, said: "The President's inaugural is the finest state paper in all history." He also informs us that a distinguished New York statesman hearing this declaration replied: "Yes, and as Washington's name grows brighter with time, so it will be with Lincoln. A century from today that inaugural will be read as one of the most sublime utterances ever spoken by man."

Hon. Charles Sumner, who was always reserved and temperate in his commendation, said: "The inaugural address which signalized" President Lincoln's "entry for a second

time upon his great duties was briefer than any similar address in our history; but it has already gone farther, and will live longer than any other. It was a continuation of the Gettysburg speech, with the same sublimity and gentleness. Its concluding words were like an angelic benediction."

Carl Schurz, in "The Writings of Abraham Lincoln," Vol. I., p. 67, says: "Lincoln's famous 'Gettysburg Speech' has been much and justly admired. But far greater, as well as far more characteristic, was that inaugural in which he poured out the whole devotion and tenderness of his great soul. It had all the solemnity of a father's last admonition and blessing to his children before he lay down to die." It "was like a sacred poem. No American President had ever spoken words like these to the American people. America never had a President who found such words in the depth of his heart."

Former President R. B. Hayes, in September, 1878, said: "No statement of the true objects of the war more complete than this has ever been made. It includes them all—Nationality, Liberty, Equal Rights and Self-government. These are the principles for which the Union soldier fought, and which it was his aim to maintain and to perpetuate."

We have assurance that the address "was read in Europe with the most profound attention." The London *Times* said: "It is the most sublime state paper of the century."

Concerning it the London *Spectator* said: "We cannot read it without a renewed conviction that it is the noblest political document known to history, and should have for the nation and the statesmen he left behind him something of a sacred and almost prophetic character. Surely, none was ever written under a stronger sense of the reality of God's government. And certainly none written in a period of passionate conflict ever so completely excluded the partiality of victorious faction, and breathed so pure a strain of mingled justice and mercy."

Mr. Lincoln was always exceedingly reticent respecting

any of his own speeches or literary productions. I cannot call to recollection one instance of his speaking in any degree of commendation concerning any of his speeches or writings save in his brief and modest statement to Thurlow Weed in a letter written eleven days after this address was delivered, in which he expresses his expectation that it will "wear as well as—perhaps better than—anything I have produced." All of which tends to show that the man was even greater than his words.

II

LINCOLN'S RELIGIOUS FAITH

FIRST of all was Abraham Lincoln's marvelous faith in the Bible. Upon that faith as a foundation was built his entire personal superstructure. With that faith as an inspiration all his attitudes and activities were chosen and maintained. "Marvelous" is not too strong a word to use in designating his relation to the sacred Book. The Bible was to him the touchstone by which his judgment on every question was determined. In all his business affairs, in his professional pursuits, in his political affiliations, and in his personal aspirations and endeavors, it was his constant guide. "Owe no man anything but to love one another," was a rule which he sought to obey, not because it was convenient but because it was a Bible admonition. Whatever was condemned by the Bible he stubbornly opposed. Whatever the Bible commended, he heartily approved, steadfastly defended and sought to promote.

Abraham Lincoln first learned to read by slowly tracing the lines of chosen passages of Scripture under his mother's prayerful tuition. That tutelage was painstaking and devout, leaving in his memory sweet and sacred impressions which time could not erase.

"Mrs. Lincoln possessed but one book in the world, the Bible," says Mrs. Trevena Jackson, "and from this book she taught her children daily. Abraham had been to school for two or three months, to such a school as the rude country afforded. Of quick mind and retentive memory, he soon came to know the Bible well-nigh by heart, and to look upon his

980687A

gentle teacher as the embodiment of all the good precepts in the book." [1]

Thus from childhood he was Bible-bred and the Word of God was transmuted into his being and became the determining influence in his moral development. He believed that Word as implicitly as he believed in his own existence.

Some of his associates in his early manhood were pronounced skeptics and rejected the claims and teachings of the Scriptures, and during all his later years, even to the close of his life, he was in close professional and official relations and fellowship with men who openly denied the authenticity and divine inspiration of the Bible; but voluminous as are his published addresses and writings, they do not contain a single criticism of the Scriptures nor any word calculated to weaken their hold upon human esteem and confidence. And no one worthy to give trustworthy testimony upon this subject has yet arisen to disprove that assertion. Never flippantly nor in jest, but always with solemn and impressive reverence did he quote from the sacred Book.

He regarded the declarations of Scripture as conclusive on any matter under consideration. Not a doubt of its authenticity or validity did he ever express or manifest, nor did he weaken its force by recognizing the possibility of doubt in the minds of others. It is both interesting and instructive to note the absolute confidence with which he applied the declarations of Scripture to the settlement of every question in dispute. The Bible was to him the court of last resort and his appeals to its teachings were always made with a manifest expectation that its verdict would be accepted as final.

During the early fifties, Mr. Lincoln bestowed much thought upon religious subjects. Under the very able instruction of Rev. James Smith, D.D., pastor of the first Presbyterian Church of Springfield, he was aided in reaching a very satisfactory and settled conclusion in favor of the

[1] Lincoln's use of the Bible, p. 7.

authenticity and divine inspiration of the Bible. During those years, probably in 1850, he was invited to deliver a lecture in the First Presbyterian Church of Springfield, under the auspices of the Bible Society of that city. The purpose of this lecture was to aid in an effort which at that time was being put forth to place a copy of the Holy Scriptures in every family in the state. To assist in that movement Mr. Lincoln delivered a very able and forceful address, at the conclusion of which he said: "It seems to me that nothing short of infinite wisdom could by any possibility have devised and given to man this excellent and perfect moral code. It is suited to men in all conditions of life, and includes all the duties they owe to their Creator, to themselves, and to their fellowmen." [2]

Robert Browne, M. D., who was for many years on terms of intimacy with Mr. Lincoln and shared a degree of his confidence which was given to few men, in his excellent life of Lincoln, has this to say:

In speaking of Paine's "Age of Reason," he laid it aside, saying: "I have looked through it, carelessly it is true; but there is nothing to such books. God rules this world, and out of seeming contradictions, that all these kind of reasoners seem unable to understand, He will develop and disclose His plans for men's welfare in His inscrutable way. Not all of Paine's nor all the French distempered stuff will make a man better, but worse. They might lay down tons and heaps of their heartless reasonings alongside a few of Christ's sayings and parables, to find that He had said more for the benefit of our race in one of them than there is in all they have written. They might read His Sermon on the Mount to learn that there is more of justice, righteousness, kindness and mercy in it than in the minds and books of all the ignorant doubters from the beginning of human knowledge." [3]

During his conference with Hon. L. E. Chittenden,

[2] *Scribner's Magazine*, July, 1873, p. 338.
[3] Abraham Lincoln and Men of his Time, Vol. II., p. 426.

Register of the Treasury, respecting the resignation of Secretary Salmon P. Chase, and the appointment of his successor, Mr. Lincoln said:

"The character of the Bible is easily established, at least to my satisfaction. We have to believe many things which we do not comprehend. The Bible is the only one that claims to be God's book—to comprise His law—His history. It contains an immense amount of evidence of its own authenticity. It describes a governor omnipotent enough to operate this great machine, and declares that He made it. It states other facts which we fully do not comprehend, but which we cannot account for. What shall we do with them?

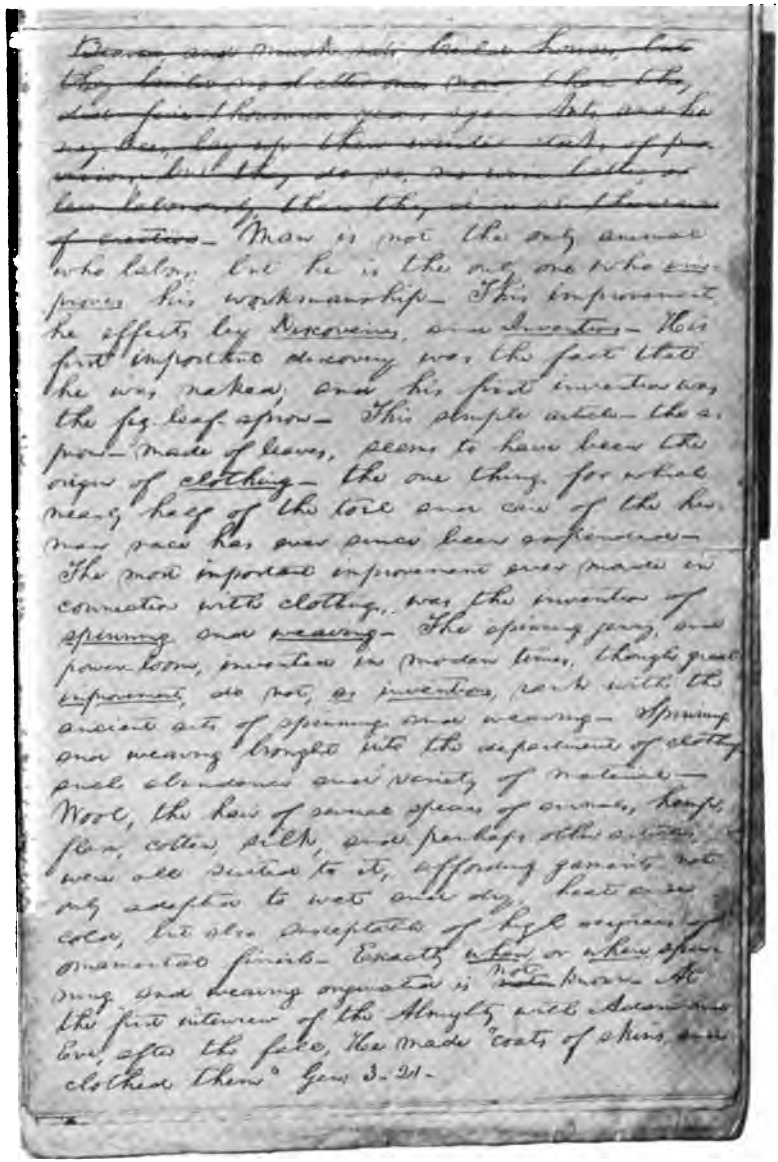
"Now let us treat the Bible fairly. If we had a witness on the stand whose general story we knew was true, we would believe him when he asserted facts of which we had no other evidence. We ought to treat the Bible with equal fairness. I decided a long time ago that it was less difficult to believe that the Bible was what it claimed to be than to disbelieve it. It is a good Book for us to obey; it contains the ten commandments, the golden rule, and many other rules which ought to be followed. No man was ever the worse for living according to the directions of the Bible."

"I could not press inquiry further," says Mr. Chittenden. "I knew that Mr. Lincoln was no hypocrite. There was an air of such sincerity in his manner of speaking, and especially in his references to the Almighty, that no one could have doubted his faith unless the doubter believed him dishonest.

"Further comment cannot be necessary. Abraham Lincoln accepted the Bible as the inspired Word of God—he believed and faithfully endeavored to live according to the fundamental principles and doctrines of the Christian faith. To doubt either proposition is to be untrue to his memory, a disloyalty of which no American should be guilty." [4]

And it was not a mutilated Bible in which Abraham Lincoln so confidently believed. It was the complete volume of

[4] Recollections of President Lincoln, pp. 448-451.



DISCOVERIES AND INVENTIONS

Facsimile of first page of the lecture supposed to have been lost. From photographs of the original manuscript now owned by Hon. Henry C. Melvin, Justice of the Supreme Court of California.

The Bible makes no other allusion to clothing, before the flood. Soon after the deluge Noah's two sons covered him with a garment; but of what material the garment was made is not mentioned. Gen. 9. 23.

Abraham mentions "thread" in such connection as to indicate that spinning and weaving were in use in his day. Gen. 14. 23. and soon after, reference to the art is frequently made. "Linen breeches" are mentioned, Exod. 28. 42. and it is said "all the women that were wise hearted did spin with their hands" (35-25) and "all the women whose heart stirred them up in wisdom, spun goats hair (35-26) The work of the "weaver" is mentioned. (35-35). In the book of Job, a very old book, date not exactly known, the "weaver's shuttle" is mentioned.

The above mention of "thread" by Abraham is the oldest recorded allusion to spinning and weaving; and it was made about two thousand years after the creation of man, and now near four thousand years ago. Profane authors think there originated in Egypt; and this is not contradicted, or made improbable, by any thing in the Bible; for the allusion of Abraham, mentioned, was not made until after he had sojourned in Egypt.

The discovery of the properties of iron, and the making of iron tools, must have been among the earliest of important discoveries and inventions. We can scarcely conceive the possibility of making much of anything else, without the use of iron tools. Indeed an iron hammer must have been very much necessary to make the first iron hammer with.

A stone probably served as a substitute. Noah called the "gopher wood" for the Ark, have been

thirty-nine Old Testament books from which the Saviour quoted and to which He referred when He said "Search the Scriptures," together with the twenty-seven New Testament books; it was the entire Bible, as commonly understood. All this with unquestioning confidence he accepted and quoted as divine revelation.

Many have erroneously supposed that the lecture on "Discoveries and Inventions," which Mr. Lincoln prepared and delivered in 1859-60, was not preserved. Fortunately, the manuscript of that lecture was among the effects which Mr. Lincoln left in a satchel with Mrs. Grimsley at Springfield, a few days before his departure for Washington to be inaugurated as President, and it has been carefully kept and is still in excellent condition.

After Mr. Lincoln's death the satchel was opened and among the articles which it contained was the manuscript of that lecture, which was given to Dr. S. H. Melvin, one of Mr. Lincoln's intimate and devoted friends. Dr. Melvin was a man of great personal worth and a devout and faithful Christian. He was one of the committee sent to Washington by the people of Springfield to escort the remains of the martyr President to their final resting place in his home city.

Subsequently Dr. Melvin became a resident of Oakland, California, where it was my privilege to be his near neighbor and to have many interesting and helpful interviews with him concerning Mr. Lincoln. Dr. Melvin kept the manuscript copy of the lecture with great care until his death, when it came into the possession of his son, Hon. Henry A. Melvin, one of the Justices of the Supreme Court of California, by whose courtesy I have been permitted to give the precious document a prolonged and careful examination and to reproduce in facsimile in this chapter two of its pages.

In that manuscript, Mr. Lincoln mentions Genesis, Exodus, and Deuteronomy "as the Books of Moses" and refers as follows to some of their historical records: "Before the

fall man was put into the Garden of Eden to dress it and to keep it.

"His (man's) first important discovery was the fact that he was naked, and his first invention was the fig leaf apron.

"At the first interview of the Almighty with Adam and Eve, after the fall, he made coats of skins and clothed them. The Bible makes no allusion to clothing before the fall. Soon after the Deluge, Noah's two sons covered him with a garment, but of what material the garment was made, is not mentioned.

"Tubal Cain was the seventh in descent from Adam and his birth was about one thousand years before the flood."

In speaking of inventions he refers to the Ark "as belonging rather to the miraculous than to human invention." He refers to "the first transgression and the penalty." He also mentions Abraham's act "preparatory to sacrificing Isaac as a burnt offering." "The Red Sea being safely passed, Moses and the Children of Israel sang to the Lord. 'The horse and his rider hath he thrown into the Sea.'

"Abraham mentions 'thread' in such connection as to indicate that spinning and weaving were in use in his day (Genesis xiv, 23), and soon after, reference to the art is frequently made."

"The above mention of thread by Abraham is the oldest recorded allusion to spinning and weaving; and it was made about two thousand years after the creation of man, and now near four thousand years ago. Profane authors think these arts originated in Egypt; and this is not contradicted or made improbable by anything in the Bible; for the allusion of Abraham mentioned was not made until after he had sojourned in Egypt.

"The oldest recorded allusion to the wheel and axle is the mention of a 'chariot' (Genesis xi:43). This was in Egypt, upon the occasion of Joseph being made Governor by Pharaoh. It was about twenty-five hundred years after the creation of Adam.

"Joseph's brethren, on their first visit to Egypt, 'laded their asses with the corn, and departed thence.'"

These quotations were all carefully made with full designation of the books, chapters and verses in which they are found in the Bible. They are all in Mr. Lincoln's lecture on "Discoveries and Inventions," from the original manuscript of which, in Mr. Lincoln's own handwriting, I have made these quotations.

It should be remembered that this lecture was prepared by Mr. Lincoln after he had attained nation-wide fame by his debates with Stephen A. Douglas, and it was delivered in Springfield on the 22nd day of February, 1860, only five days before his great speech at Cooper Institute in New York. It was, however, before the new birth of deeper and fuller spiritual realization into which he was ushered by his call to the Presidency and the overwhelming sense of responsibility and of human helplessness which caused him to humble himself before God, and to search the Scriptures with greater diligence and stronger faith than ever before.

And yet at that height of personal vigor, when men are most self-reliant and inclined to skepticism, with his spirit unchastened by sorrow and unsobered by responsibility, he holds up as authentic and valid, not a Bible composed of selected portions of ancient Scriptures, but the complete volume of revealed Truth, which the Church regards, and which he at that time and ever after regarded as an accurate historical record and an infallible rule of faith and practice. Mr. Lincoln's purpose in making these quotations from the Scripture was to give reliable, historical information concerning the matter under consideration. He quoted from the Bible because he had unquestioning confidence in its historical records. In so doing he declares his belief in the commonly accepted teachings of Scripture respecting the following important matters: Antiquity of Scriptural records; commonly accepted Bible chronology; Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch; account of the Creation of Man; Transgression and

Fall; Penalty for Man's Transgression; Fig-leaf covering; divinely provided garments of animal skins; Deluge; Building of the Ark; Noah's intoxication; Abraham's offering of Isaac; Story of Joseph; Bondage in Egypt; and Crossing the Red Sea.

All who know how scrupulously careful Mr. Lincoln always was never knowingly to make false impressions, will agree in declaring that he would not have made these quotations had he entertained a doubt of their absolute historical accuracy. If he had regarded any of those records as allegorical or in any way less than reliable history he would not have referred to them as he did in this carefully prepared address. The same may be said of other literature in which Mr. Lincoln so mentions the Bible and quotes from its records as to express his belief in the scriptural account of the following: Cain's murder of Abel; the great age of Methuselah; the finding of the infant Moses by Pharaoh's daughter; the Angel of Death in Egypt; the Plagues inflicted upon Egypt; Haman's Gallows and his execution; the Miraculous healing of the Gadarene; the Miracle of the Loaves and Fishes; the Saviour's Agony and Prayer in Gethsemane; and the Saviour's Sufferings upon the Cross.

Vibrant with love, the love of a great heart for its most cherished object of affection, are the words which were spoken by President Lincoln when on September 7th, 1864, upon receiving from some colored people of Baltimore a copy of the Holy Scriptures, he said: "In regard to this great Book I have but to say, it is the best gift God has given to man. All the good Saviour gave to the world was communicated through this Book. But for it we could not know right from wrong. All things most desirable for man's welfare, here and hereafter, are to be found portrayed in it." [5]

How like the tribute which an impassioned lover pays to the object of his heart's delight is this expression of President Lincoln's personal regard for "the great Book of God."

[5] Complete Works of Abraham Lincoln, Vol. X., p. 218.

Those who, having heard him speak, as was my privilege, and noted the irresistible impressiveness with which he always modulated his wonderful voice when he referred to or quoted from the Bible, will in imagination hear the melting melody of which there can be no reproduction, as they read the above sublime utterance from as pure and sincere a heart as ever throbbed with human love and admiration.

A skillful gardener, when asked what he did to his flowers to cause them to be so beautiful, proudly replied, "I love them." No further explanation was necessary; so the mysterious influence of the Bible upon the life and works of Abraham Lincoln is fully explained by his affectionate regard for the sacred Volume. Lincoln loved the Bible. He not only accepted it in its entirety as the revealed Word of God, but he could say as did the Psalmist, "O, how love I thy law! It is my meditation all the day."

It was that love which bound him with fetters of enraptured constraint to the diligent study of the sacred Word, a passion of which all his associates were compelled to take note. It was that love that so opened his mind to the declarations he thus studied as to cause them to remain fixed in his recollection, and be transmuted into the exalted character which continues to be the wonder and admiration of the world.

In a letter to Miss Mary Speed, in 1841, when he was thirty-two years old, he wrote: "Tell your mother that I have not got her 'present' (an Oxford Bible) with me, but I intend to read it regularly when I return home. I doubt not that it is really, as she says, the best cure for the blues, could one but take it according to the truth."[6]

How faithfully he kept his promise to read the Bible regularly is shown by the many quotations from the Scriptures which are found in his speeches and writings during succeeding years. His mind seemed stored with Bible truth and he was never at a loss for a passage just suited to his

[6] Complete Works of Abraham Lincoln, Vol. I., p. 180.

needs. In addition to the fact of his familiarity with the Bible are his own declarations, and the statements of others, respecting his diligent Bible study.

Colonel W. H. Crook, who was for years President Lincoln's highly esteemed and trusted bodyguard, says: "The daily life of Mr. and Mrs. Lincoln usually commenced at eight o'clock, and immediately upon dressing the President would go into the library, where he would sit in his favorite chair in the middle of the room and read a chapter or two of his Bible. I think I am safe in saying that this was President Lincoln's invariable custom—at least it was such during the time I was on duty with him." [7]

Mr. Alexander Williamson, who was engaged as tutor in the Lincoln family in Washington, said: "Mr. Lincoln very frequently studied the Bible with the aid of Cruden's Concordance, which lay on his table." [8]

It is undoubtedly true that Mr. Lincoln had fixed times for Bible study as here stated by Colonel Crook and Mr. Williamson, and that at such times he put aside every care and thought, and gave whole-hearted and undivided attention to the teachings of God's Word. But in addition to this it was his custom to pick up his Bible as opportunities were presented between public duties and whenever a few minutes could be given to its perusal, and in some secluded nook or at an open window at the evening hour, read and meditate upon its teachings. Some striking instances in which this occurred are here given.

Elizabeth Keckley, thirty years a slave and four years a companion and dressmaker for Mrs. Lincoln, in the White House, says:

"One day Mr. Lincoln came into the room where I was fitting a dress for Mrs. Lincoln. His step was slow and heavy and his face was sad. Like a tired child he threw himself upon a sofa and shaded his eyes with his hands. He was a

[7] Memories of the White House, p. 15.
[8] Lincoln's use of the Bible, p. 8.

complete picture of dejection. Mrs. Lincoln observing his troubled look asked, 'Where have you been, father?'

" 'To the War Department,' was the brief almost sullen answer.

" 'Any news?'

" 'Yes, plenty of news, but no good news. It is dark, dark everywhere.'

"He reached forth one of his long arms and took a small Bible from a stand near the head of the sofa, opened the pages of the Holy Book and soon was absorbed in reading them. A quarter of an hour passed, and on glancing at the sofa the face of the President seemed more cheerful. The dejected look was gone and the countenance was lighted up with new resolution and hope. The change was so marked that I could not but wonder at it, and wonder led to the desire to know what book of the Bible afforded so much comfort to the reader. Making the search for a missing article an excuse, I walked gently around the sofa and looking into the open book I discovered that Mr. Lincoln was reading that Divine Comforter Job. He read with Christian eagerness and the courage and hope that he derived from the inspired pages made him a new man. I almost imagined that I could hear the Lord speaking to him from out the whirlwind battle, 'Gird up thy loins now, like a man; I will demand of thee and declare thou unto me.' "[9]

On May 4th, 1862, Mr. Lincoln, with Secretaries Chase and Stanton, made a trip to Fortress Monroe on an important mission. During their sojourn at that place some very exciting events occurred, including the taking of Norfolk and the consequent destruction by the Confederates of the ironclad *Merrimac,* which had been until the advent of the *Monitor,* such a terror to Government vessels. On their return from that trip, though all were at a high tension, Mr. Lincoln withdrew from the company and when found was, according to the statement of a Mr. Jay, sitting in a secluded corner of the

[9] Elizabeth Keckley, Behind the Scenes, pp. 118-120.

vessel, absorbed in reading his pocket edition of the New Testament.

In the summer of 1864, Hon. Joshua F. Speed, one of Mr. Lincoln's closest friends, was invited to spend a night with the President and his family at the Soldiers' Home, near the city of Washington. Respecting an incident which occurred during that visit Mr. Speed says:

"As I entered the room, near night, he was sitting near a window intently reading his Bible. Approaching I said, 'I am glad to see you so profitably engaged.'

" 'Yes,' he said, 'I am profitably engaged.'

" 'Well,' said I, 'if you have recovered from your skepticism, I am sorry to say I have not.'

"Looking me earnestly in the face and placing his hand on my shoulder, he said: 'You are wrong, Speed. Take all of this book upon reason that you can and the balance on faith and you will live and die a happier and better man.' "[10]

Dr. Robert Browne, to whom reference already has been made, says:

"Mr. Lincoln read his Bible every day. He held it to be his treasure and indisputable authority. In its texts and principles he founded the basis of every argument or declaration he ever used against slavery. He did this, too, in his remarkable progress and high distinction as a lawyer. In the same way he grounded his belief and framed his reasoning on his land and debt reforms in profound respect and obedience to divine authority. He referred often to Matt. 7:12. 'Therefore all things whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them; for this is the law and the prophets.' " [11]

This habitual Bible study caused Mr. Lincoln to become so familiar with the Bible that he could often use passages and incidents to great advantage in conversation with those who called upon him at the White House. An exceedingly

[10] Reminiscences of Abraham Lincoln, p. 32.

[11] Abraham Lincoln and the Men of his Time, Vol. II., p. 633.

interesting instance of this is given by Thomas F. Pendleton, who was for many years doorkeeper at the White House:

"One day a man with a very swarthy complexion came in, wearing a silk hat and a Prince Albert coat. You would have taken him at first glance for a minister of the gospel. He commenced finding fault with Mr. Stanton, accusing him of not carrying out the order that President Lincoln had given two weeks before to have a certain man liberated from prison who had been sentenced to death but was pardoned.

"Mr. Lincoln listened patiently to his complaint and then said emphatically: 'If it had not been for me that man would now be in his grave. Now, sir, you claim to be a philanthropist. If you will get your Bible and turn to the 30th chapter of Proverbs, the tenth verse, you will read these words: 'Accuse not a servant unto his master, lest he curse thee and thou be found guilty.' Whereupon the man got huffy and went away. But as he went out he said angrily, 'There is no such passage in the Bible.' 'Oh, yes,' said Mr. Lincoln, 'I think you will find it in the 30th chapter of Proverbs and at the tenth verse.'

"This was late in the afternoon and I thought no more of the occurrence. Next morning I was at Mr. Lincoln's office door as usual at eight o'clock and heard some one calling out, 'Oh, Pendleton, I say Pendleton, come in here.' When I went inside Mr. Lincoln said to me: 'Wait a minute.' He stepped quickly into the private part of the house and soon reappeared with his Bible in his hand. He then sat down and read to me that identical passage he had quoted to the philanthropist, and sure enough it was found to be in the 30th chapter of Proverbs, and at the tenth verse.

"In those days I was not much of a Bible reader, but in 1865 I decided that all-important question whether or not I should not be a follower of the Lord Jesus. I commenced reading a little old Bible that I had bought at the second-hand store. . . . One day I came across that same passage which Mr. Lincoln had quoted to the angry philanthropist.

The whole occurrence came back to me and I thought what a just man was the President. He was not even willing for me to be in doubt as to his correct quotation of a Bible passage but must needs take his precious time to prove himself right in my eyes."[12]

During his service in Congress, on May 21st, 1848, in a somewhat infelicitous correspondence with Rev. J. M. Peck, with reference to some acts under consideration, Mr. Lincoln said: "Possibly you consider those acts too small for notice. Would you venture to so consider them had they been committed by any nation on earth against the humblest of our people? I know you would not. Then I ask, is the precept, 'Whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them,' obsolete? of no force? of no application?"[13]

During the preceding year, in a speech in Congress on the tariff, December 1st, 1847, Mr. Lincoln said: "In the early days of our race the Almighty said to the first of our race, 'In the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat bread'; and since then, if we except the light and air of heaven, no good thing has been or can be enjoyed by us without having first cost labor."[14]

In his eulogy on Henry Clay, Mr. Lincoln said: "Pharaoh's country was cursed with plagues and his hosts were lost in the Red Sea for striving to retain a captive people who had already served them for more than four hundred years. May this disaster never befall us!"[15]

In his speech at Peoria, Illinois, October 16th, 1854, he said: "God did not place good and evil before man, telling him to make his choice. On the contrary, He did tell him there was one tree of the fruit of which he should not eat, upon pain of certain death."[16]

[12] Thirty-six Years in the White House, pp. 25-26.
[13] Complete Works of Abraham Lincoln, Vol. II., p. 26.
[14] Ibid., Vol. I., p. 306.
[15] Ibid., Vol. II., p. 177.
[16] Ibid., p. 253.

At Alton, Illinois, October 15th, 1858, in his closing speech of the great debate with Douglas, Mr. Lincoln said: "He (Douglas) has warred upon them (Lincoln's sentiments) as Satan wars upon the Bible."[17]

Even in foreign lands, Mr. Lincoln was known as a devout Bible student, as indicated by the following from Richard Lovell, A.M., London: "Lincoln's nature was deeply religious. From boyhood he had been familiar with the Bible and as the years passed his belief and trust in God's overruling and active providence in the affairs of men and nations ever deepened."[18]

As Trevena Jackson says: "The spirit of the Bible was built into Lincoln's boyhood, expanded in his young manhood, ripened in his middle age, sustained him when sorrows seared his soul, and gave to him a grip upon God, man, freedom, and immortality. The influence of the Bible upon him gave him reverence for God and His will; for Christianity and its Christ; for the Holy Spirit and its help; for prayer and its power; for praise and its purpose; for the immortal impulse and its inspiration."[19]

In 1901, in an address before the American Bible Society on "Reading the Bible," former President Roosevelt made the following tender statements respecting Lincoln's familiarity with the Bible: "Lincoln, sad, patient, kindly Lincoln, who, after bearing upon his shoulders for four years a greater burden than that borne by any other man of the Nineteenth century, laid down his life for the people whom, living, he had served so well, built up his entire reading upon his study of the Bible. He had mastered it absolutely, mastered it as later he mastered only one or two other books, notably Shakespeare, mastered it so that he became almost a man of one book who knew that book, and who instinctively put into practice what he had been taught therein; and he

[17] Complete Works of Abraham Lincoln, Vol. V., p. 45.
[18] Abraham Lincoln, p. 16.
[19] Lincoln's use of the Bible, p. 35.

left his life as part of the crowning work of the century just closed."[20]

Investigating the religious faith of Abraham Lincoln is like working a vein of high-grade ore, which increases in width and in richness as the work of mining progresses. It is more than five decades since I first began to prosecute my researches on this subject. These researches began during the year 1860, after Mr. Lincoln had become the republican candidate for President of the United States, being suggested by the volume published that year as a campaign document which contained not only the speeches by Lincoln and Douglas, but also some of Mr. Lincoln's most notable speeches prior and subsequent to those famous debates. In addition to his own declarations concerning religious matters I have sought, with great care, to collate information respecting his faith from the testimonies of those with whom he was most intimately associated. As this investigation has proceeded I have found the subject becoming increasingly fascinating and instructive; and with the product of my prolonged researches before me I am profoundly impressed by the clear and unequivocal evidence furnished of Mr. Lincoln's firm belief in the most vital features of Christian truth.

The first scriptural truth learned by Abraham Lincoln was doubtless that stated in the first four words of the Bible: "In the beginning God." That truth which, as a mere child he was taught by his godly mother, became and continued to be the foundation upon which was erected his entire system of religious faith. His belief in a Supreme Being was at once fundamental and all-dominant in his faith and life.

It may be only a mere fancy, but it is exceedingly interesting and suggestive, that the earliest fragment of his autograph now known to be in existence is the following rhyme written in his copy book when he was only fourteen years old:

[20] Lincoln's use of the Bible, p. 10.

"Abraham Lincoln
his hand and pen.
he will be good but
god knows When."

It is profoundly significant that this child of destiny, at his life's early morning, in clumsy but impressive verse thus reverently coupled his own name with that of his Creator, and that the hand which afterwards wrote the Emancipation Proclamation first learned to use a pen by laboriously writing a declaration of belief in a Supreme Being.

The significance of this youthful testimony to the existence and omniscience of God is not in the least degree dependent upon his comprehension of the full meaning of what he wrote. If it be claimed that his words have a meaning beyond his own understanding it will serve only to remind us that the same has often been true of literary productions. If he employed hackneyed terms or transcribed what others before had written he was as I believe in so doing unconsciously following a deeper impulse of the heart.

He used the name of God in the most natural and unstudied manner because his belief in God pervaded his being, and he referred to the Divine omniscience as the spontaneous expression of the faith which he received from his mother's instruction.

I am not claiming for this fragment of a Lincoln manuscript any direct divine inspiration. But I cannot regard and treat it as belonging to a class with those manuscripts which simply tell of Mr. Lincoln's early educational pursuits. It is certainly more significant than are they in that it bears witness to his early matter of fact trend of thought which moved steadily in the direction of an ever-increasing comprehension of God.

That trend of thought was with him like an undeviating and unhindered approach from dawn to daylight, and resulted in an expansion of soul, enlargement of spiritual vision and

deepened religious experience, until he seems to have found and rested upon a satisfying and sustaining faith.

The Scripture admonition, "Acquaint now thyself with him and be at peace" (Job 22:21), was one to which he gave constant heed. He sought to know God; to know Him as revealed "in the heavens above and in the earth beneath;" to know Him as revealed in His holy Word; to know Him as revealed in Jesus Christ, and to know Him as revealed in personal religious experience. This continued until Lincoln realized in his own being the fulfillment of the promise, "Thou shalt keep him in perfect peace, whose mind is stayed on thee because he trusteth in thee." (Isa. 26:3.) This could not be otherwise since with all his heart and soul he believed in

Divine Omnipotence

In his first inaugural address delivered March 4th, 1861, Mr. Lincoln said: "If the Almighty Ruler of Nations, with His eternal truth and justice, be on your side of the North, or on yours of the South, that truth and that justice will surely prevail by the judgment of this great tribunal of the American people."[21]

In reply to a letter from Mrs. Horace Mann, on behalf of a class of children in whom she was interested, President Lincoln on April 5th, 1864, sent the following beautiful message: "Please tell these little people that I am very glad their young hearts are so full of just and generous sympathy, and that, while I have not the power to grant all they ask, I trust they will remember that God has, and that, as it seems, He wills to do it."[22]

In his "Meditation on Divine Will," which is supposed to have been written September 30th, 1862, he says: "By His (that is God's) mere great power on the minds of the now contestants, He could have either saved or destroyed the

[21] Complete Works of Abraham Lincoln, Vol. VI., p. 183.
[22] Ibid., Vol. X., pp. 68-69.

Union without a human contest. Yet the contest began. And, having begun, He could give the final victory to either side any day."[23]

These declarations of Mr. Lincoln abundantly justify the following comprehensive and significant testimony of Hon. H. C. Whitney, who knew him intimately for many years: "Logically and inevitably, therefore, he believed in God; in His superintending providence; in His intervention in mundane affairs for the weal of the race. To Him he made report; from Him he took counsel; at His hands he implored current aid; he ascribed glory and thanks to Him; he recognized Him as the Supreme Good. God came to him monitorially; with succor; with good cheer; with victory. He confounded the counsels of his accusers; He made the wrath of his enemies to minister to his good; His direct intervention the President experienced in many ways. Lincoln acknowledged all with a grateful heart; he ordered national thanksgivings and praises on every suitable occasion. Therefore, he had more proofs to warrant his belief, and believed more implicitly in God, and approached nearer to Him than any man of the race since Moses, the lawgiver."[24]

These statements of Mr. Lincoln's belief in the omnipotence of God are not more clear or emphatic than are those concerning

Divine Omniscience

"The all-wise Creator," "An all-wise Providence," and similar statements appear many times in Mr. Lincoln's writings, and bear witness to his unquestioning confidence in the infinite knowledge and wisdom of God.

On September 4th, 1864, at a time when according to his own deliberate statements he was in doubt relative to his re-election, in a letter to Mrs. Eliza P. Gurney, a devout Christian woman of the Society of Friends, he said: "The

[23] Complete Works of Abraham Lincoln, Vol. VIII., p. 52.
[24] Lincoln, the Citizen, pp. 203-204.

purposes of the Almighty are perfect, and must prevail, though we erring mortals may fail to accurately perceive them in advance. We hoped for a happy termination of this terrible war long before this; but God knows best, and has ruled otherwise. We shall yet acknowledge His wisdom and our own error therein. Meanwhile we must work earnestly in the best light He gives us, trusting that so working still conduces to the great ends He ordains. Surely He intends some great good to follow this mighty convulsion, which no mortal could make, and no mortal could stay."[25]

Divine Omnipresence

The most famous Hebrew poetry never rose to a higher level of grandeur, nor did it ever express more comfortingly the thought of God's environing presence, than did the sublimely simple words of Abraham Lincoln spoken on the 11th of February, 1861, when taking leave of his friends and neighbors: "Trusting in Him who can go with me, and remain with you, and be everywhere for good, let us confidently hope that all will yet be well."[26]

These words, in my judgment, are worthy of being put alongside the sublime utterances on divine omnipresence found in the 139th Psalm, or in the climax of Paul's masterly oration delivered to the Athenians on Mars Hill.

[25] Complete Works of Abraham Lincoln, Vol. X., pp. 215-216.
[26] Ibid., Vol. VI., p. 110.

III

LINCOLN'S RELIGIOUS FAITH—CONTINUED

IN the forefront of Mr. Lincoln's religious thinking was his belief in

The Saviour's Deity

That belief was expressed by him in clear and unequivocal language. The teachings of Scripture relative to this doctrine are not more lucid than was the declaration of Mr. Lincoln when, in that wonderful unbosoming of himself to Dr. Newton Bateman a few weeks before his first election as President, as Dr. Holland tells us, he said: "I know I am right, for Christ says so, and Christ is God." [1]

A few weeks later, after his election as President and before his inauguration, he said to his lifelong friend, Judge Joseph Gillispie: "I have read on my knees the story of Gethsemane, where the Son of God prayed in vain that the cup of bitterness might pass from Him." [2]

Perhaps quite as significant as any specific statement of Mr. Lincoln respecting the Saviour's deity was his oft-repeated mention of Him as "our Lord." Again and again, in speeches, in conversation and in his correspondence does Mr. Lincoln thus speak of the Saviour; and there was always a peculiar manifestation of solemnity and reverence when those words fell from his lips. Those of us who were privileged to hear him utter those words will never doubt his belief that Jesus Christ had to him "all the religious value of God," as a modern school of religious thought has phrased

[1] Life of Abraham Lincoln, p. 238.
[2] H. C. Whitney, Lincoln the Citizen, p. 201.

it. There is heart-melting pathos in the little story so beautifully told by Mr. and Mrs. Ralph Emerson, two Christian people of Rockford, Illinois, who stood perhaps as close to Mr. Lincoln as did any human beings outside of his own family. In reporting a time of special communing they say: "During that trip we walked down on the river, and the conversation turned on a trip to Palestine and Jerusalem. Lincoln's countenance seemed at once to light up and he exclaimed, 'Yes, to tread the ground the Saviour trod!' Never from other human lips have I heard the word 'Saviour' pronounced with such deep earnestness. Apparently absorbed with the two thoughts of the evils of slavery and of the Saviour, we wandered on in silence and so parted."[3]

Mr. Lincoln also believed in

The Saviour's Temptation

The story of that mysterious experience of the Saviour which is a part of the New Testament record would naturally appeal to one so greatly tried as was Mr. Lincoln, and it may be reasonably claimed that had he made no reference to the matter himself, he could properly be regarded as believing in that story. But Mr. Lincoln has made such inference unnecessary by his own declarations relative to the matter.

In his letter to Dr. Ide and Senator Doolittle, dated May 30th, 1864, he declared that the conduct of some Southern leaders "contemned and insulted God and His Church far more than did Satan whem he tempted the Saviour with the kingdoms of earth. The devil's attempt was no more false, and far less hypocritical."[4]

Hard to understand as is the above mentioned event in the life of the Saviour it is certain that Mr. Lincoln accepted it as not only authentic and true but as full of significance and meaning. With all his heart and soul, as indicated by his oft-

[3] Mr. and Mrs. Ralph Emerson, Personal Recollections of Abraham Lincoln, pp. 10-12.

[4] Complete Works of Abraham Lincoln, Vol. X., p. 109.

repeated declarations, Mr. Lincoln believed in the supreme authority of

The Saviour's Teachings

If from all that Mr. Lincoln has written and said there could be taken that which he quotes from the teachings of Christ, and his own interpretation and application of those teachings, but little of value would be left. Prominent among his many quotations from the words of Jesus are the following:

"A house divided against itself cannot stand."

This quotation was made not only the keynote of that great speech at Springfield by which Mr. Lincoln first attracted the attention of the nation, but also expressed the dominant thought in his subsequent political program.

"Whatsoever ye would that men should do unto you, do ye even so unto them."

These words of the Saviour were by Mr. Lincoln accepted as the "Golden Rule" which makes the golden life; and were by him adopted as a full and satisfactory statement of the portion of his religious creed pertaining to human conduct.

"Woe unto the world because of offenses."

This declaration of Jesus stands out in the second inaugural address as the marvelously fitting statement of Mr. Lincoln's distinguishing belief in the great doctrine of divine retribution.

"Let us judge not that we be not judged."

By these words, Mr. Lincoln in that inaugural calls for the exercise of self-restraint. After referring to the surprise which might be felt in view of the prayers of professed Christians for divine aid in their efforts to maintain slavery, he virtually admonished himself and others to refrain from hasty and uncharitable judgment. This seems the more significant when it is remembered that several months previous to this occasion, when Mr. Lincoln was moved to express with severity his opinion of the conduct of professed followers of Christ,

who not only sought to enslave their fellows but had gone to war against their government in order that they might protect and promote slavery, he said: "But I must forbear, remembering that it is also said: 'Judge not that ye be not judged.'"

Very beautiful and instructive is Mr. Lincoln's reference to

"The lost sheep."

The significance of Mr. Lincoln's reference to this parable of the Saviour, and his designating of Judge Douglas as fittingly represented by the lost and endangered sheep, should be considered in connection with the Saviour's own interpretation of this parable when he said: "Even so there shall be joy in heaven over one sinner that repenteth more than over ninety and nine righteous persons which need no repentance."[5]

Among the numberless citations that might be given are the following:

"By their fruits ye shall know them."

"He notes the falling sparrow."

"The hairs of your head are numbered."

As early as 1850, in a tender letter to his stepbrother, written to be read to his own dying father, Mr. Lincoln quoted the last two of these sayings of Jesus in proof of the Heavenly Father's tenderness and minute, supervising care.

Still earlier, namely, in 1842, in his famous temperance speech Mr. Lincoln refers to the "unpardonable sin," for the purpose of expressing the conviction that such was not chargeable to the drunkard; but that he was an object of divine compassion and of tender mercy. The text

"Be ye perfect even as your Father, which is in heaven, is perfect,"

was quoted by Mr. Lincoln as a statement of the exalted aims which should characterize every Christian.

During the period between his first election and his inauguration as President, Mr. Lincoln was urged by some

[5] Matt. 15:7.

anxious friends throughout the nation to make a public manifesto of his principles and purposes that would quiet the apprehensions of the Southern people. To this he replied by calling attention to the many statements he already had made, and, having driven home the nail he clinched it by saying:

"If they hear not Moses and the prophets, neither will they be persuaded though one rose from the dead."[6]

Immensely significant is this quotation from that dramatic and searching illustration employed by the Saviour to represent the sin and the danger of human incorrigibility. The Saviour's reference to

"The blood of righteous Abel," and His declaration that

"He that is not with me is against me,"

were most appropriately quoted by Mr. Lincoln not only to express his belief in the Saviour's teachings but also to make effective the instruction he was seeking to impart.

"Inasmuch as ye have done it unto one of the least of these, ye have done it unto me."

It is worthy of note that by these words Mr. Lincoln rebuked some thoughtless boys for their unkindness to one of their number. But why multiply examples? The speeches, letters and recorded conversations of Lincoln teem with allusions to the Saviour's teachings, and the use made of them affords indubitable evidence that he accepted them as divinely inspired. Mr. Lincoln believed also in

The Saviour's Miracles

His reference to the miracle of the loaves and fishes, and to the case of the Gadarene swineherder who was cured, clothed and brought into his right mind, very clearly indicate his belief in the miracle-working power of Christ; and doubtless he regarded with unquestioning acceptance all the other miracles of the New Testament.

He also believed in

[6] Complete Works of Abraham Lincoln, Vol. VI., p. 64.

The Saviour's Suffering and Death

There was probably no time in all his sad, weary life when his sufferings were so exquisite and so devoid of all alleviation as during that period to which reference already has been made, between his first election as President and his inauguration. Utterly unable to lift a hand to avert or delay the calamity he saw sweeping down upon the nation he could but suffer in silence looking on from the distance, while the fires were rapidly kindling to consume the nation. And to his mind it was not unfitting that he should refer, as he did in conversation with Judge Gillispie, to the Saviour's sufferings in Gethsemane, as illustrative of his own inability to find relief from the agony through which he was passing.

In his notes prepared in 1850 for a lecture on Niagara Falls he refers to the fact that the wonderful cataract was in activity "when Christ suffered on the cross." Concerning the fundamental truth of Christ's atoning sacrifice Abraham Lincoln never faltered. It sometimes may have seemed to him an unfathomable mystery as it does to all; but his cast of mind and the methods by which he gained his wonderful knowledge of law, enabled him to understand in some measure the philosophy of the divine plan for human salvation, and to give atonement for sin its necessary and proper place. If he did not frequently refer to this doctrine, that may merely indicate how inseparable from the Christian system he regarded it. Believing in the gospel story of the life, death and resurrection of Christ, and speaking of Him with the greatest tenderness "as the good Saviour" he could no more doubt the doctrine of atonement than he could disbelieve in his own existence. And fully characteristic of his habits and style, was the course he pursued in treating his belief in the atonement as a matter of course, and in referring to it only as occasions made it necessary.

But there were occasions on which Mr. Lincoln's declarations concerning this matter were clear and comprehensive.

Those who would fain make him out an unbeliever, have repeated with tireless industry the falsehood respecting his having, in early life, written a manuscript against Christianity which a friend snatched from his hands and cast into the fire. This story, which could have originated only in malice and concealed revenge, has been shown to have no other foundation than the burning of a letter which referred to matters of rivalry in love. And instead of having written an attack upon Christianity, it has been proven beyond question, that in 1833, the time referred to, Mr. Lincoln while investigating religious matters prepared with great care an article on the compassion and mercy of God, in which he claimed that all the evil consequences of Adam's transgression found a full and sufficient remedy in the sufferings and death of Christ. "As in Adam all die, so in Christ shall all be made alive," was the passage of Scripture by which the young lawyer sought to prove the perfect efficacy of the work of atonement. That passage of Scripture was commonly quoted in those days, and by many teachers at a later period, as defining the extent of the work of atonement; and it was undoubtedly quoted by Mr. Lincoln with that understanding.

I am not seeking, however, to state definitely the extent to which Mr. Lincoln believed the work of atonement; it is sufficient to know that with all his heart and soul he believed that Christ "tasted death for every man."

The foregoing statement relating to Lincoln's manuscript on Christianity is borne out by a letter of Mr. Menter Graham, who was upon the most intimate terms with Mr. Lincoln from the time of his coming to Illinois until his departure to Washington, as President, in which he thus testifies: "Abraham Lincoln was living at my house at New Salem going to school, studying English Grammar and surveying in the year 1833. One morning he said to me, 'Graham, what do you think about the anger of the Lord?' I replied, 'I believe the Lord was never angry or mad and never would be; that His loving kindness endureth forever.' Said Lincoln, 'I have a little

manuscript written which I will show you,' and stated that he thought of having it published. Offering it to me he said he had never shown it to any one and still thought of having it published. The size of the manuscript was about a half a quire of foolscap paper, written in a very plain hand on the subject of Christianity. The commencement of it was something respecting the God of the Universe never being excited, mad or angry. I had the manuscript in my possession some week or ten days. I have read many books on the subject of theology and I do not think in point of perspicuity and plainness of reasoning I ever read one to surpass it. I remember well his argument. He took the passage, 'As in Adam all die, so in Christ shall all be made alive,' and followed up with the proposition that whatever the breach or injury of Adam's transgression to the human race was, which no doubt was very great, was made just and right by the atonement of Christ."[7]

In 1859, twenty-six years after the writing of that remarkable production, being the year following the great Lincoln-Douglas debates, and the year preceding Mr. Lincoln's election as President, Mr. Isaac Cogsdale, of Illinois, called upon Mr. Lincoln, at his office in Springfield, and frankly made inquiry concerning his religious belief. Mr. Lincoln's reply was based, as he said at the time, upon his understanding of the teachings of the Bible, and among other things, according to Mr. Cogsdale, he said: "All that was lost by the transgression of Adam was made good by Atonement. All that was lost by the Fall was made good by the Sacrifice; and he added this remark, that punishment being a provision of the gospel system he was not sure but the world would be better if a little more punishment was preached by our ministers and not so much pardon for sin. Lincoln told me he never took part in the argument or discussion of theological questions."[8]

[7] Lincoln Scrap-book, p. 64.
[8] Ibid.

The following story related by Mr. F. B. Carpenter, the artist who painted the picture of President Lincoln and his Cabinet, considering the Emancipation Proclamation, illustrates the readiness with which Mr. Lincoln summoned Bible doctrines to aid him in the performance of official duty, according to the promptings of his loving heart. Mr. Carpenter says:

My friend, the Hon. Mr. Kellogg of New York, was sitting in his room at his boarding house one evening, when one of his constituents appeared—a white-headed old man—who had come to Washington in great trouble, to seek the aid of his representative in behalf of his son. His story was this: "The young man had formerly been very dissipated. During an absence from home a year or two previous to the war, he enlisted in the regular army, and after serving six months, deserted. Returning to his father, who knew nothing of this, he reformed his habits, and when the war broke out, entered heart and soul into the object of raising a regiment in his native county, and was subsequently elected one of its officers. He had proved an efficient officer, distinguishing himself particularly on one occasion, in a charge across a bridge, when he was severely wounded,—his colonel being killed by his side. Shortly after this, he came in contact with one of his old companions in the 'regular' service, who recognized him, and declared his purpose of informing against him.

"Overwhelmed with mortification, the young man procured a furlough and returned home, revealing the matter to his father, and declaring his purpose never to submit to an arrest,—'he would die first.'"

"In broken tones the old man finished his statement, saying: 'Can you do anything for us, Judge?—it is a hard, hard case!' 'I will see about that,' replied the representative, putting on his hat; 'wait here until I return.' He went immediately to the White House, and fortunately finding Mr. Lincoln alone, they sat down together, and he repeated the old man's story. The President made no demonstration of

particular interest until the Judge reached the description of the charge across the bridge and the wound received. 'Do you say,' he interrupted, 'that the young man was wounded?' 'Yes,' replied the Congressman, 'badly.' 'Then he had shed his blood for his country,' responded Mr. Lincoln, musingly. 'Kellogg,' he continued, brightening up, 'isn't there something in the Scripture about the shedding of blood being the remission of sins?' 'Guess you are about right there,' replied the Judge. 'It is a good point, and there is no going behind it,' rejoined the President; and taking up his pen, another 'pardon' —this time without 'oath,' condition, or reserve—was added to the records of the War Office."[9]

Somehow there was a close bond of fellowship between Mr. Lincoln and Father Chiniquy, and in a prolonged interview with that devoted friend, Mr. Lincoln is reported to have given utterance to the following sentiments: "Why did God Almighty refuse to Moses the favor of crossing the Jordan, and entering the Promised Land? It was on account of the nation's sins! That law of divine retribution and justice, by which one must suffer for another, is surely a terrible mystery. But it is a fact which no man who has any intelligence and knowledge can deny. Moses, who knew that law, though he probably did not understand it better than we do, calmly says to his people, 'God was wroth with me for your sakes.'

"But though we do not understand that mysterious and terrible law, we find it written in letters of tears and blood wherever we go. We do not read a single page of history without finding undeniable traces of its existence.

"Where is the mother who has not shed real tears and suffered real tortures, for her children's sake?

"Who is the good king, the worthy emperor, the gifted chieftain, who has not suffered unspeakable mental agonies, or even death, for his people's sake?

"Is not our Christian religion the highest expression of

[9] Six Months in the White House, pp. 318-319.

FATHER CHARLES CHINIQUY

Greatly beloved by Abraham Lincoln.

the wisdom, mercy and love of God? But what is Christianity if not the very incarnation of that eternal law of divine justice in our humanity?

"When I look on Moses, alone silently dying on the Mount of Pisgah, I see that law in one of its most sublime human manifestations, and I am filled with admiration and awe.

"But when I consider that law of justice, and expiation in the death of the Just, the divine Son of Mary, on the Mount of Calvary, I remain mute in my adoration. The spectacle of the Crucified One which is before my eyes is more than sublime, it is divine! Moses died for his people's sake, but Christ died for the whole world's sake! Both died to fulfill the same eternal law of the divine justice, though in a different measure."[10]

Lincoln believed in the doctrine of

The Holy Spirit

The most remarkable feature of Mr. Lincoln's religious life was his faith in, and constant reliance upon, the Holy Spirit. The third person of the Holy Trinity he always and properly regarded as the executive of the Godhead. He seems to have kept constantly in mind the truth so clearly taught by the Scriptures and by the symbols of the Church that "whatever God does He does by the Spirit." All his literary works, whether carefully or hurriedly written, as well as his spoken words, abound in direct or indirect references to the Holy Spirit. They are also dominated by a sense of the Spirit's presence and leading. Nothing of value concerning religious matters would be left in his literary productions if those portions relating to the Holy Spirit were removed. His references to God, the Father Almighty, and to Jesus Christ, would be utterly without significance apart from his declared or understood faith in the Holy Spirit. It is so certain as to be universally admitted, that Abraham Lincoln lived and wrought

[10] Fifty Years in the Church of Rome, pp. 706-711.

in constant dependence upon God. And equally certain is it that all that he hoped to realize from the favor of God, whether in the gift of needed wisdom or guidance for which he prayed so devoutly, in strength and ability to bear his burdens and perform his tasks, or in divine guidance in counsel and judgment, help in battle upon sea and land, and in all upon which he asked or desired the favor of God, his expectation was in all cases that the desired favors if granted would be ministered by the Holy Spirit.

Mr. Lincoln's expectations of divine help, through the Holy Spirit, were thoroughly scriptural and were sustained by his familiarity with the declarations of the Bible. He always sustained a scriptural attitude when seeking the aid from heaven, making his appeal for divine help in a spirit of humility and with a sense of utter helplessness.

The spirit which was dominant in all his life found striking expression when, as he left his home city for his great and final work he expressed his sense of utter helplessness without divine aid. He had a most exalted opinion of the American people. He believed in their patriotism, their loyalty to the government, their wisdom and their unsurpassed courage; and while proposing to make the most of their strength and help, his hope of success rested wholly in the favor of God; and that divine favor he expected to receive through such ministrations of the Holy Spirit as the exigencies of his life made necessary.

"The stars in their courses fought against Sisera" (Judges 5:20), and Abraham Lincoln who was familiar with this declaration of Scripture knew that the Almighty was able to marshal the forces of the celestial world to aid His own people. "And the Lord thundered with a great thunder on that day upon the Philistines and discomfited them" (I Sam. 7:10), and Abraham Lincoln accepted this as a declaration of God's purpose to call into activity the elements of nature for the accomplishment of His high purposes. He believed in the power and purpose of God, by His Holy Spirit,

to marshal the animate hosts of the heavens, and the inanimate forces of nature as He did in ancient times for the defeat of those who wickedly fought against His cause and His people. He believed that like power would be brought into activity, if necessary, to save the nation from destruction. But his chief reliance was upon the helpful influences of the Holy Spirit upon the hearts and minds of the children of men. He did not expect any interference with the power to originate the activities of the human mind, nor with the freedom of choice which is a matter of individual consciousness, and which also is the ground for personal responsibility. But he knew that in the exercise of freedom of thought and of choice we are subject to the influences of the Divine Spirit and are upheld and sustained by divine power. With unquestioning confidence he believed that God's Spirit illuminates the human mind and influences for good those who yield to divine leadership.

Mr. Lincoln did not look for any miraculous revelation of the Divine Will but he did confidently expect that the Holy Spirit would help him to perform his allotted task clearly interpreting the mind of God. Hence, he studied God's Word with diligence and listened with constant attention to the voice of the Spirit within his heart, that he might be divinely led. He believed that wisdom needed for the performance of every duty would be administered to him by the direct influences of the Holy Spirit; and so fully were his expectations in this regard realized that many of his official acts which were ascribed to his superb genius were by him declared to be suggested by the Divine Spirit in answer to prayer.

In a conversation with Dr. Robert Browne, Mr. Lincoln made the following extended statements respecting his own experiences of the leadings of the Holy Spirit:

"When I set my mind at work to find some way of evading or declining a journey, a speech or service, instead of my own spirit a something stronger says, 'You must go. You must not

disappoint these people, who have given you their confidence as they have no other man.'

"I am a full believer that God knows what He wants a man to do, that which pleases Him. It is never well with the man who heeds it not. I talk to God. My mind seems relieved when I do, and a way is suggested, that if it is not a supernatural one, it is always one that comes at the time, and accords with a common-sense view of the work. I take up the common one of making a speech somewhere or other. These come almost every day. I get ready for them as occasion seems to require. I arrange the facts, make a few notes, some little memorandums like those you have seen so often and are so familiar with. I take them, and as far as facts are concerned confine myself to them, and rarely make any particular preparation for feeling, sympathy or purely sentimental thoughts.

"When my plans for the discussion are made, and the foundations are laid, I find that I am done and all at sea unless I arouse myself to the spirit and merits of my cause. With my mind directed to the necessity, I catch the fire of it, the spirit, or the inspiration. I see it reflected in the open faces and throbbing hearts before me. This impulse comes and goes, and again returns and seems to take possession of me. The influence, whatever it is, has taken effect. It is contagious; the people fall into the stream and follow me in the inspiration, or what is beyond my understanding. This seems evidence to me, a weak man, that God himself is leading my way."[11]

The following from Judge Whitney is striking and instructive:

"It is due to myself to state that I have not been betrayed into a vain laudatory of my subject, because the general consensus of the world's opinion so directs; but that, independent of all contemporary opinion, as early as 1856, I conceived, and did not hesitate to express, the opinion, that Mr. Lincoln was a paragon, and prodigy of intellectual and moral force. Others, associated with us, deemed him superlatively great, but still

[11] Abraham Lincoln and Men of War Times, Vol. II., pp. 194-195.

merely human. I went further; my view was definite and pronounced, that Lincoln was inspired of God: that he was ordained for a greater than merely human mission; and I used to avow this belief as early as that time.

"Swett said to me at Danville one evening, despairingly after Lincoln had made a political speech: 'Of what use is it for fellows like Vorhees and me to try to make speeches? Whenever I hear Lincoln, I feel as if I never should try to make a political speech again.'

"I tried to comfort him by the reflection that 'the Deity inspired Lincoln, and, of course, he could not hope to match the Divine.'

"I had no idea of Mr. Lincoln's mission; I then thought he was the greatest man I ever saw; I now know that God worked in him to will and to do, of His own good pleasure."[12]

The disclosure by Mr. Lincoln of his dependence upon spiritual guidance and inspiration in his preparation and delivery of public speeches, as stated by him in his interview with Dr. Robert Browne, explains in part what is spoken of as a "miracle" in the following by Bishop McDowell, one of the most gifted and eloquent of modern pulpit orators:

"At Gettysburg, Edward Everett spoke magnificently through many thousand noble words—a masterly oration. Lincoln spoke three minutes, two hundred and fifty words, and this is the principal address of that day or many days. The second inaugural is only seven hundred and fifty words in length, but while liberty lasts, while charity survives among men, while patriotism lives under any flag, these few words will be on men's lips like prophecy, psalm or gospel. How did this man, born in poverty, reared in poverty, untrained in any schools, come to do this miracle? It is not a trick of expression, it is the miracle of supreme truth, supremely stated."[13]

Mr. Lincoln believed in the Holy Spirit as the One who ministers divine aid to individual human beings, and the reali-

[12] Life on the Circuit with Lincoln, p. 591.
[13] The Tributes of a Century, p. 369.

zation of his need of such ministration caused him to make almost countless requests for the prayers of Christian people for himself. These requests came welling up from his overburdened heart, and showed that he was reaching out for that aid of the Spirit of wisdom and of power which he felt and declared was indispensable to the successful accomplishment of his divinely appointed work. And when he asked ministers of the gospel and other church people to kneel with him in prayer, as he often did in the White House, it was a confession of his faith in the Holy Spirit as the One by whom all needed divine grace is ministered. Such requests for prayer are significant only when they are known to include such an explicit or implicit faith.

To L. E. Chittenden, Register of the Treasury, Mr. Lincoln said: "It makes me stronger and more confident to know that all Christians are praying for our success."[14]

Mr. Lincoln not only thus freely confessed his realization of utter and constant dependence upon God, but he freely believed and freely confessed that he was divinely guided and aided in his choice of others to the work. His unyielding demand that Mr. Fessenden should accept the position of Secretary of the Treasury, at a financial crisis in the nation's history, was based upon his claim that he was divinely guided in making that appointment. When the distinguished senator from Maine emphatically and almost indignantly declared to Mr. Lincoln that he could not and would not accept the position, Mr. Lincoln calmly replied: "Last night I saw my way clear to appoint you Secretary of the Treasury. I do not think you have any right to tell me you will not accept the place. I believe that the suppression of the Rebellion has been decreed by a Higher Power than any represented by us, and that the Almighty is using His means to that end. You are one of them. It is as much your duty to accept as it is mine to appoint."[15]

[14] Recollections of President Lincoln and his Administration, p. 450.
[15] Ibid., p. 382.

So confident was Mr. Lincoln that he had been divinely guided in this matter, that he said to Mr. Fessenden: "Your nomination is now on the way from the State Department, and in a few minutes it will be here. It will be in the Senate at noon, you will be immediately and unanimously confirmed, and by one o'clock today you must be signing warrants in the treasury."[16]

This entire program which Mr. Lincoln confidently claimed was divinely prepared and announced to him was carried out, and Mr. Fessenden at once entered upon his serivce as Secretary of the Treasury, in which his achievements fully justified Mr. Lincoln's claim that the statesman from Maine was God's choice for that position.

To Mr. Chittenden President Lincoln afterwards said: "I am satisfied that when the Almighty wants me to do or not to do a particular thing, He finds a way of letting me know it. I am confident that it is His design to restore the nation. He will do it in His own good time. We should obey and not oppose His way. . . . All we have to do is to trust the Almighty and keep right on obeying His orders and executing His will."[17]

Mr. Lincoln believed that his duty might be made known to him through the revelations of the Holy Spirit given to others. He was familiar with the Scripture records of many such disclosures of the divine will, and therefore he was ever alert for some message which might be brought to him from some faithful servant of the Most High. He often sought counsel of his pastor, Rev. Dr. Gurley, and of other ministers in whom he had special confidence. Dr. Gurley was the first person whom he consulted respecting the Emancipation Proclamation, and that famous measure as it went to the public and to history, contained important portions suggested by that able and wise man of God. During all of his Presidency, it was Mr. Lincoln's uniform custom to give careful consideration to the

[16] Recollections of President Lincoln and his Administration, p. 382.
[17] Ibid., pp. 448-450.

advice and counsels of the ministers of the gospel, and to the decisions of religious bodies.

Mr. Lincoln's great interest in the proposition of Colonel Jaquess to enter upon and prosecute a peace mission was because of his conviction that God might be thus seeking to guide and aid him in his difficult work, by the illumination of His Holy Spirit upon the heart and mind of one of His chosen messengers.

A full account of the Jaquess Mission is given elsewhere in this work, and this reference to that little known but very remarkable portion of history is here given to illustrate Mr. Lincoln's constant reliance upon the favor of God ministered through the influence of the Holy Spirit.

In Mr. Lincoln's proclamations for days of Thanksgiving, humiliation and prayer there are found full and instructive declarations of his belief in the influence of the Holy Spirit. Whatever in those proclamations the President requested the people to ask the Almighty to accomplish could be wrought only by the Holy Spirit. We are not, however, left to any inference respecting this matter for, as will be seen, Mr. Lincoln designates the Holy Spirit as the One by whom the desired results are to be accomplished.

The dates of those Proclamations and the volumes and pages of "Complete Works" where they are published are as follows:

August	12, 1861	Vol. VI.,	p. 342
July	16, 1863	Vol. IX.,	p. 32
October	3, 1863	Vol. IX.,	pp. 151-153
July	7, 1864	Vol. X.,	pp. 149-150
September	3, 1864	Vol. X.,	pp. 211-212
October	20, 1864	Vol. X.,	p. 245

The following is a brief summary of the objects for which President Lincoln, in his Proclamations, requested the people to pray:

"That we may be spared further punishment.

That our armies may be blessed and made effectual.

That law and order and peace may be re-established.

That prayers may bring down plentiful blessings.

For pardon of national sins.

That by the influence of the Holy Spirit the anger of the insurgents may be subdued.

That the hearts of the insurgents may be changed.

To visit with tender care and consolation those who suffer in mind, body or estate.

To lead the whole nation to union and fraternal peace.

To protect soldiers and other leaders.

To comfort the sick, wounded and prisoners.

To bring blessings for the orphans and widows.

To uphold the government.

To heal the wounds of the nation.

To bring peace, harmony, tranquillity and union.

To have compassion and grant forgiveness.

To suppress the rebellion.

To establish the supremacy of the constitution and laws.

To protect from foreign hostility and interference.

To keep us from obstinate adherence to our own counsels.

To enlighten the mind of the nation to know and to do His will.

To maintain our place as a nation.

To grant courage, power, resistance and endurance.

To soften the hearts, enlighten the minds and quicken the consciences of those in rebellion.

To cause the insurgents to lay down their arms and return to their allegiance to the United States.

To stay the effusion of blood.

To restore fraternity, union, and peace."

A consideration of these objects for which President Lincoln requested the people to pray will convince any candid mind that he was a firm, unquestioning believer in the power of prayer, and in the influence of the Holy Spirit upon the

hearts and minds of men, and in determining the events of life.

Not less pronounced was Mr. Lincoln's belief in

Divine Sovereignty

and in the divine supervision of earthly affairs. Of this feature of his faith, Judge Whitney says: "He believed in the direct intervention of God in our national affairs, and he frequently used to ask Him in a direct manly way to grant this boon, avert that disaster, or advise him what to do in a given contingency."[18]

In 1842 when Mr. Lincoln was but thirty-three years old and unmarried, he addressed a letter to his very intimate friend, Joshua F. Speed, in which he expresses his belief in God's personal supervision of individual human lives, in language which most deeply moves the heart of every sympathetic reader. In that letter he declares: "I believe God made me one of the instruments of bringing your Fanny and you together, which union I have no doubt He had foreordained. Whatever He designs He will do for me yet. 'Stand still, and see the salvation of the Lord,' is my text just now."[19]

Ten years later, on July 16th, 1852, Mr. Lincoln, in his great eulogy upon Henry Clay, said: "Such a man the times have demanded, and such in the providence of God was given us. But he is gone. Let us strive to deserve, as far as mortals may, the continued care of divine providence, trusting that in future national emergencies He will not fail to provide us the instruments of safety and security."[20]

In 1858 when Mr. Lincoln was engaged in the great struggle with Stephen A. Douglas many leading republicans throughout the nation, and not a few adherents of that party in Illinois, were favoring the re-election of Douglas on account

[18] Lincoln, the Citizen, pp. 206-207.
[19] Complete Works of Abraham Lincoln, Vol. I., pp. 218-219.
[20] Ibid., Vol. II., p. 177.

of his contest at that time with the Buchanan administration. This was very painful to Mr. Lincoln, and in an address delivered at Chicago on July 10th, 1858, he referred to this fact in the following remarkable language: "As surely as God reigns over you, and has inspired your mind, and given you a sense of propriety, and continues to give you hope, so surely will you still cling to these ideas, and you will at last come back after your wanderings, merely to do your work over again."[21]

In a letter to Mr. H. L. Pierce, April 16th, 1859, Mr. Lincoln expresses his belief in the justice of God and the righteousness of His administration of human affairs in the following expressive utterance: "Those who deny freedom to others deserve it not for themselves, and under a just God, cannot long retain it."[22]

In his famous speech at Springfield on "A House Divided Against Itself," Mr. Lincoln expressed the conviction that slavery would be put "in the way of ultimate extinction"; and as indicating the tenacity with which he clung to the belief that however prolonged or furious the struggle, God's sovereign power would without fail bring about its overthrow, later in the campaign he made the following remarkable pronouncement: "I do not suppose that in the most peaceful way ultimate extinction would occur in less than a hundred years at least; but that it will occur in the best way for both races, in God's own good time, I have no doubt."[23]

During one of the darkest periods of the rebellion Mr. Lincoln thus delivered his soul: "God is leading our Republic in His own time and way to its high destiny, and will deal with it and fulfill every promise to men if the men of our day will but do their duty."[24]

In an address at a fair held in Baltimore, in behalf of

[21] Complete Works of Abraham Lincoln, Vol. III., p. 45.
[22] Ibid., Vol. V., p. 126.
[23] Ibid., Vol. IV., p. 189.
[24] Robert Browne, Abraham Lincoln and the Men of his Time, Vol. II., p. 378.

the Sanitary Commission, on April 18th, 1864, he said: "So true is it that man proposes and God disposes."[25]

In speaking to Hon. L. E. Chittenden respecting himself as divinely called to the work in which he was engaged Mr. Lincoln said: "That the Almighty does make use of human agencies, and directly intervenes in human affairs, is one of the plainest statements of the Bible. I have had so many evidences of this, so many instances of being ordered by some supernatural power, that I cannot doubt this power is of God."[26]

On September 13th, 1862, in reply to a committee of ministers from Chicago, who urged upon him the policy of Emancipation, he said: "I believe in a divine providence. Unless I am more deceived than I often am I wish to know God's will in this matter. And if I can learn it I will do it. But I hope it will not be irreverent in me to say that if it is probable that God would reveal to others His will concerning my duty, it is quite as probable that He would reveal it directly to me. These are not, however, the days of miracles and I suppose it will be granted that I am not to expect a direct revelation. I must study the plain facts of the case, ascertain what is possible and decide what appears to be wise and right. Whatever shall appear to be God's will I will do."[27]

On May 30th, 1863, in reply to a committee of the Presbyterian General Assembly, Mr. Lincoln said: "From the beginning I saw that the issue of our great struggle depended on the divine interposition and favor. If we had that all would be well. In every case and at all hazards the government must be perpetuated. Relying, as I do, upon the Almighty Power, and encouraged as I am by these resolutions which you have just read, with the support which I receive from Christian men, I shall not hesitate to use all the means at my control to secure the termination of this rebellion and will hope for success."[28]

[25] Complete Works of Abraham Lincoln, Vol. X., p. 77.

[26] Recollections of President Lincoln, p. 450.

[27] Rev. W. W. Patton, D.D., LL.D., President Lincoln and the Chicago Memorial, pp. 20-25.

[28] Complete Works of Abraham Lincoln, Vol. VIII., p. 287.

In 1862 Mr. Lincoln in reply to an address from the Society of Friends delivered to him at the White House by a deputation headed by Mrs. Gurney, expressed his confidence in God's sovereignty and supervision in the following beautiful terms:

"In the very responsible position in which I happen to be placed, being a humble instrument in the hands of our heavenly Father, as I am, and as we all are, to work out His great purposes, I have desired that all my works and acts may be according to His will, and that it might be so, I have sought His aid; but if, after endeavoring to do my best in the light which He affords me, I find my efforts fail, I must believe that for some purpose unknown to me, He wills it otherwise. If I had had my way, this war would never have been commenced. If I had been allowed my way, this war would have been ended before this; but we find it still continues, and we must believe that He permits it for some wise purpose of His own, mysterious and unknown to us; and though with our limited understandings we may not be able to comprehend it, yet we cannot but believe that He who made the world still governs it."[29]

The confidence with which Mr. Lincoln claimed to be divinely chosen and commissioned for his great work is indicated by the following disclosures made to Father Chiniquy, whom he had known for many years, and to whom he unreservedly opened his heart when speaking of religious matters: "Let me tell you," he said on one occasion, "that I have lately read a passage in the Old Testament which had made a profound, and I hope, a salutary impression on me. Here is that passage." The President then took his Bible, opened it at the third chapter of Deuteronomy, and read from the 22nd to the 27th verse: "'Ye shall not fear them; for the Lord your God he shall fight for you. And I besought the Lord at that time, saying: O, Lord God, thou hast begun to shew thy servant thy greatness, and thy mighty hand: for what God is

[29] Complete Works of Abraham Lincoln, Vol. VIII., pp. 50-51.

there in heaven or in earth, that can do according to thy works, and according to thy might?

" 'I pray thee, let me go over, and see the good land that is beyond Jordan, that goodly mountain, and Lebanon.

" 'But the Lord was wroth with me for your sakes, and would not hear me; let it suffice thee; speak no more unto me of this matter.

" 'Get thee up into the top of Pisgah, and lift up thine eyes westward, and northward, and southward, and eastward, and behold it with thine eyes; for thou shalt not go over this Jordan.' "

And after the President had read these words with great solemnity, he added: "My dear Father Chiniquy, let me tell you that I have read those strange and beautiful words several times, these last five or six weeks. The more I read them, the more, it seems to me, that God has written them for me as well as for Moses.

"Has He not taken me from my poor log cabin, by the hand, as He did of Moses in the reeds of the Nile, to put me at the head of the greatest and most blessed of modern nations just as He put that prophet at the head of the most blessed nation of ancient times? Has not God granted me a privilege, which was not granted to any living man, when I broke the fetters of 4,000,000 men and made them free? Has not our God given me the most glorious victories over my enemies? Are not the armies of the Confederacy so reduced to a handful of men, when compared to what they were two years ago, that the day is fast approaching when they will have to surrender?"[80]

In his "Meditation" which has become so famous, and to which reference already has been made, Mr. Lincoln remarks: "The will of God prevails. In great contests each party claims to act in accordance with the will of God. Both may be, and one must be, wrong. God cannot be for and against the same thing at the same time. In the present civil war it is quite

[80] Fifty Years in the Church of Rome, pp. 706-711.

possible that God's purpose is something different from the purpose of either party; and yet the human instrumentalities, working just as they do, are of the best adaptation to effect His purposes.

"I am almost ready to say that this is probably true; that God wills this contest, and wills that it shall not end yet."[31]

The following quotations from letters, official messages, and personal interviews, indicate how fully Mr. Lincoln's hope of divine interposition and aid was connected with a deep sense of human ignorance and helplessness:

August 15, 1855. "Our political problem now is, 'Can we as a nation, continue together permanently, forever, half slave and half free?' The problem is too mighty for me—may God, in His mercy, superintend the solution."[32]

On May 23rd, 1860, in his letter of acceptance addressed to George Ashmun and the Republican National Convention, he writes: "Imploring the assistance of Divine Providence, . . . I am most happy to co-operate for the practical success of the principles declared by the convention."[33]

In a letter to Mr. J. R. Giddings; dated at Springfield, May 21st, 1860, he utters the pious wish: "May the Almighty grant that the cause of truth, justice, and humanity shall in no wise suffer at my hands."[34]

His farewell address at Springfield, on February 11th, 1861, contains the following: "I now leave, not knowing when or whether ever I may return, with a task before me greater than that which rested upon Washington. Without the assistance of that Divine Being who ever attended him, I cannot succeed. With that assistance, I cannot fail."[35]

From his address to the Ohio Legislature, February 13th, 1861, I make this pertinent quotation: "I turn then and look to the American people, and to that God who has never for-

[31] Complete Works of Abraham Lincoln, Vol. VIII., pp. 52-53.
[32] Ibid., Vol. II., p. 280.
[33] Ibid., Vol. VI., p. 14.
[34] Ibid., p. 14.
[35] Ibid., pp. 110-111.

saken them. . . . This is a most consoling circumstance, and from it we may conclude that all we want is time, patience, and a reliance on that God who has never forsaken this people."[36]

And this from his address at Steubenville, Ohio, February 14th, 1861: "Encompassed by vast difficulties as I am, nothing shall be wanting on my part, if sustained by God and the American people."[37]

To the New York legislature, February 18th, 1861, he said: "I still have confidence that the Almighty, the Maker of the Universe, will, through the instrumentality of this great and intelligent people, bring us through this as He has through all the other difficulties of our country. Relying on this, I again thank you for this generous reception."[38]

On February 22nd, 1861, speaking on the occasion of raising a flag over Independence Hall, Philadelphia, he said: "I wish to call your attention to the fact that, under the blessing of God, each additional star added to that flag has given additional prosperity and happiness to this country."[39]

Responding to a deputation of Evangelical Lutherans, May 6th, 1862, he made this deliverance: "You may recollect that in taking up the sword thus forced into our hands, this government appealed to the prayers of the pious and the good, and declared that it placed its whole dependence upon the favor of God. I now humbly and reverently in your presence, reiterate the acknowledgment of that dependence, not doubting that, if it shall please the Divine Being who determines the destinies of nations, this shall remain a united people, and that they will, humbly seeking the Divine guidance, make their prolonged national existence a source of new benefits to themselves and their successors, and to all classes and conditions of mankind."[40]

[36] Complete Works of Abraham Lincoln, Ibid., p. 122.
[37] Ibid., p. 123.
[38] Ibid., pp. 141-142.
[39] Ibid., p. 159.
[40] Ibid., Vol. VII., pp. 154-155.

In his reply to the East Baltimore Methodist Conference, May 15th, 1862, he said: "These kind words of approval, coming from so numerous a body of intelligent Christian people, and so free from all sinister motives, are indeed encouraging to me. By the help of an All-wise Providence, I shall endeavor to do my duty and I shall expect the continuance of your prayers for a right solution of our national difficulties and the restoration of our country to peace and prosperity."[41]

Dr. Miner tells us of a heart-revealing moment when in the course of a conversation he asked Mr. Lincoln: "Do you think, judging from your standpoint, that we shall be able to put down this rebellion," and received the answer: "You know I am not of a very hopeful temperament. I can take hold of a thing and hold on a good while, but trusting in God for help and believing that our cause is just and right, I firmly believe that we shall conquer in the end."[42]

As showing how absolute was his dependence upon God we quote these words from a letter to Caleb Russell, January 5th, 1863: "No one is more deeply than myself aware that without His favor our highest wisdom is but as foolishness, and that our most strenuous efforts would avail nothing in the shadow of His displeasure."[43]

In one of the gloomiest hours of the great struggle he said to a delegation of clergymen: "My hope of success in this great and terrible struggle rests on that immutable foundation, the justness and goodness of God. And when events are very threatening, and prospects very dark, I still hope, in some way which men cannot see, all will be well in the end, because our cause is just and God is on our side."[44]

On April 4th, 1864, in a letter to A. E. Hodges and Governor Bramlette of Kentucky, referring to a recent interview, President Lincoln said: "I add a word which was not in the verbal conversation. In telling this tale I attempt no

[41] Complete Works of Abraham Lincoln, Vol. VII., pp. 163-164.
[42] Lincoln Scrap-book, pp. 51-52.
[43] Complete Works of Abraham Lincoln, Vol. VIII., p. 174.
[44] Life on the Circuit with Lincoln, pp. 290-291.

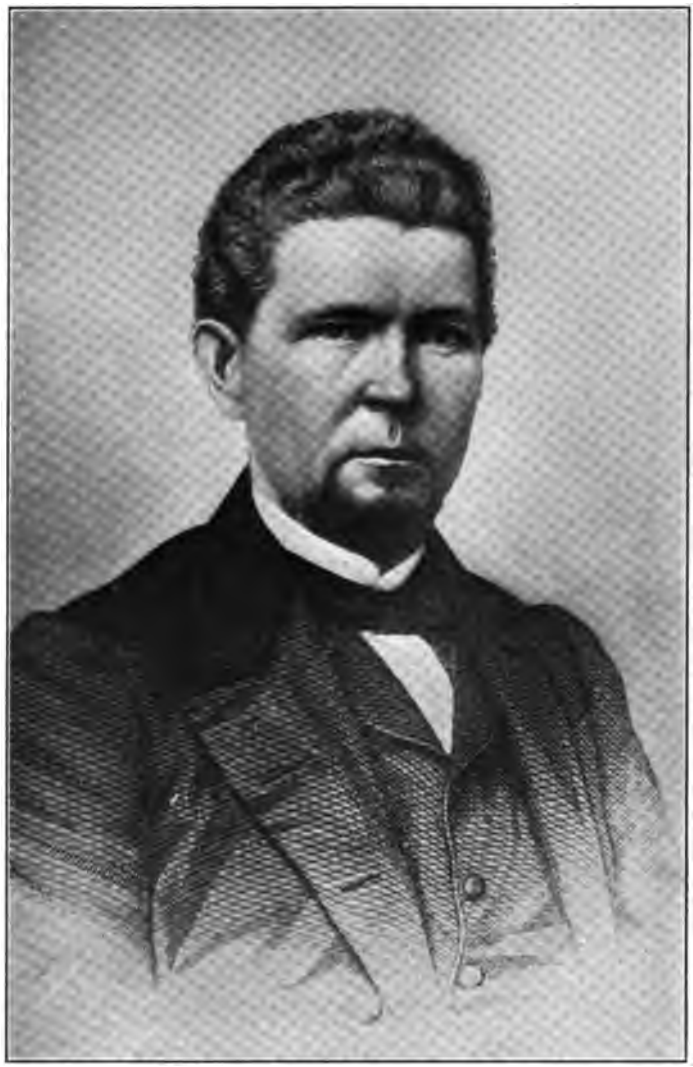
compliment to my own sagacity. I claim not to have controlled events, but confess plainly that events have controlled me. Now, at the end of three years' struggle, the nation's condition is not what either party or any man desired or expected. God alone can claim it. Whither it is tending seems plain. If God now wills the removal of a great wrong, and wills also that we of the North, as well as you of the South, shall pay fairly for our complicity in that wrong, impartial history will find therein new causes to attest and revere the justice and goodness of God."[45]

Hon. James F. Wilson, of Iowa, gives an account of an interview in the White House at which he was present, in which he says:

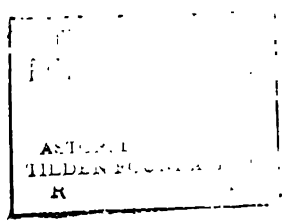
"The President did not participate in this conversation. He was an attentive listener, but gave no sign of approval or disapproval of the views which were expressed. At length one of the active participants remarked: 'Slavery must be stricken down wherever it exists in this country. It is right that it should be. It is a crime against justice and humanity. We have tolerated it too long. It brought this war upon us. I believe that Providence is not unmindful of the struggle in which this nation is engaged. If we do not do right I believe God will let us go our own way to our ruin. But if we do right, I believe He will lead us safely out of this wilderness, crown our arms with victory, and restore our dissevered Union.'

"I observed President Lincoln closely," says Mr. Wilson, "while this earnest opinion and expression of religious faith was being uttered. I saw that it affected him deeply, and anticipated, from the play of his features and the sparkle of his eyes, that he would not let the occasion pass without making some definite response to it. I was not mistaken. Mr. Lincoln had been sitting in his chair, in a kind of weary and despondent attitude while the conversation progressed. At the conclusion of the remarks I have quoted, he at once arose

[45] Complete Works of Abraham Lincoln, Vol. X., p. 65.



HON. JAMES F. WILSON OF IOWA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and stood at his extreme height. Pausing a moment, his right arm outstretched towards the gentleman who had just ceased speaking, his face aglow like the face of a prophet, Mr. Lincoln gave deliberate and emphatic utterance to the religious faith which sustained him in the great trial to which he and the country were subjected. He said:

" 'My faith is greater than yours. I not only believe that Providence is not unmindful of the struggle in which this nation is engaged; that if we do not do right God will let us go our own way to our ruin; and that if we do right He will lead us safely out of this wilderness, crown our arms with victory, and restore our dissevered Union, as you have expressed your belief; but I also believe that He will compel us to do right in order that He may do these things, not so much because we desire them as that they accord with His plans of dealing with this nation, in the midst of which He means to establish justice.'

"The manner of this delivery was most impressive, and as Mr. Lincoln resumed his seat he seemed to have recovered from the dejection so apparent when we entered the room. With a reassured tone and manner, he remarked:

" 'The Army of the Potomac is necessary to our success; and though the case at this moment looks dark, I can but hope and believe that we will soon have news from it relieving our present anxiety. Sometimes it seems necessary that we should be confronted with perils which threaten us with disaster in order that we may not get puffed up and forget Him who has much work for us yet to do. I hope our present case is no more than this, and that a bright morning will follow the dark hour that now fills us with alarm. Indeed, my faith tells me it will be so.' "[46]

This statement of Hon. James F. Wilson in some respects is in a class by itself. Of all who have testified concerning the declaration of Mr. Lincoln respecting his religious faith none stood upon a higher plane than did this distinguished

[46] Some Memories of Lincoln, *North American Review*, 1896, p. 667.

member of the United States Senate. His rare intellectual gifts and attainments placed him at the head of the committee on judiciary in the National House of Representatives and caused him to be invited by President Grant to accept the position of Secretary of State in his Cabinet, which he declined; and later led the people of Iowa to choose him as one of their representatives in the United States Senate. His ability, learning and rare poise of character caused him to be chosen as one of the managers of the impeachment of President Andrew Johnson, and also to be assigned to the position of railroad commissioner for the United States. His long and distinguished public services, together with his known discretion in speech and act and his devout faith in God give peculiar weight to his testimony respecting the declaration of Mr. Lincoln, as published by him in the *North American Review.*

In this interview President Lincoln went further than in any other in declaring his belief in God's purpose concerning our nation. Many times he had expressed his conviction that "under God" the nation would be granted ultimate victory in its great struggle; but it should not be overlooked, nor lightly considered, that in this interview he not only expressed his belief that God would bless the nation with victory, but he also in clear and unequivocal language stated his conviction that so fixed was the divine purpose to save the nation that since such salvation could be granted only in case of national obedience, the Almighty would apply the rod of chastisement until we as a nation were sufficiently humbled to be able to glorify His name by the victory it was in His heart and purpose to grant. While this conviction is implied in other declarations of Mr. Lincoln, in the Wilson interview it is stated so lucidly and unequivocally as to admit of no misunderstanding whatsoever. President Lincoln's profound faith in the overruling providence of God in all our national affairs should be kept constantly in mind while considering the other statement of his convictions concerning the rule of God over the affairs of men.

His belief in the sovereignty of God does not in the least conflict with his belief in the free agency of man, as evidenced by the following excerpt from his annual message to Congress of December 1st, 1862, in connection with his plea for the adoption of a policy of emancipation: "We shall nobly save or meanly lose the last, best hope of earth. Other means may succeed; this could not fail. The way is plain, peaceful, generous, just—a way which, if followed, the world will forever applaud, and God must forever bless."[47]

The distinctive features of Mr. Lincoln's religio-political faith was his belief in

RETRIBUTIVE DIVINE JUSTICE.

That belief rested upon his firm conviction that right is sure to receive divine approval and reward, while wrong is not permitted to go unpunished. His belief in personal and individual responsibility to God was coupled with his knowledge that governments are persons with wills, freedom of choice and accountability to their divine Author.

Mr. Lincoln also understood and seems never to have doubted nor forgotten that the sins of individual people, when authorized, sanctioned or tolerated by government, become also national sins and incur national punishment. Hence, believing as he did, that slavery was a great wrong he also and necessarily believed that the government's complicity in that wrong, if continued, would inevitably bring upon the nation the severe judgments of the Almighty. And to avert that calamity seems to have been the chief purpose of Mr. Lincoln's strenuous efforts for the "ultimate extinction" of slavery.

He was greatly disturbed and made "miserable," as he said, by witnessing or contemplating the cruelties of slavery and the sufferings of the slaves. But he was more than disturbed, he was terrified, when, with the foresight of an inspired

[47] Complete Works of Abraham Lincoln, Vol. VIII., p. 131.

prophet he saw the day of divine wrath approaching and the severe punishment and peril of the nation for its part in that great transgression.

Patriotism was the dominant feature of his philanthropy and the perils of the nation disturbed him far more than the sufferings of the slaves, though he was keenly sensitive to all human afflictions. He was comforted by his belief in God's merciful dealings with individual transgressors but his soul was in agony when he contemplated the government's complicity with slavery and remembered that the punishment of nations for their sins is always administered in this life and with great severity. Therefore, he could truly say, as for the same reason Jefferson said: "I tremble for my country when I remember that God is just." And some of Mr. Lincoln's vehement and impassioned utterances respecting the nation's expiation of its sinful complicity with slavery caused the foregoing declaration of Jefferson to appear very mild and moderate.

On the 16th of September, 1859,—the year following his great debates with Douglas and the year preceding his election as President,—in a speech at Columbus, Ohio, he said: "There was danger to this country, danger of the avenging justice of God, in that little unimportant popular sovereignty question of Judge Douglas. He supposed there was a question of God's eternal justice wrapped up in the enslaving of any race of men, or any man, and that those who did so braved the arm of Jehovah—that when a nation thus dared the Almighty, every friend of that nation had cause to dread His wrath."[48]

In October, 1860, only a few days before his election as President, when during the famous "Bateman interview" he learned that of the twenty-three pastors in Springfield, his home city, only three were known to be in favor of his election, he exclaimed: "It seems as if God had borne with this thing (slavery) until the very teachers of religion have come to defend it from the Bible and to claim for it a divine character

[48] Complete Works of Abraham Lincoln, Vol. V., pp. 159-160.

N. Batman

and sanction. And now the cup of iniquity is full and the vials of wrath will be poured out."

During the interview at which Mr. Lincoln made this remarkable declaration Dr. Newton Bateman, superintendent of the Public Schools of Illinois, and Mr. Lincoln's very close personal friend, was his only companion. The national campaign which resulted in his first election as President was at a high point of interest and activity. Elections in the "October States"—Ohio, Indiana and Pennsylvania—had been held and indicated almost to a certainty that a few days later Mr. Lincoln would be triumphantly elected President. It was at the end of a very busy day and the last caller had left the Capitol building, in which the Presidential candidate occupied rooms during the campaign, and in this seclusion these two devoted friends engaged in heart to heart consultation concerning the attitude of their neighbors and especially of the ministers and church people toward the Presidential candidates. Very carefully and for an extended period they examined the pages of the polling list which his supporters had prepared and as Mr. Lincoln came to realize that standing for freedom as he did he was opposed by "the teachers of righteousness" as he designated them, he seems to have had a prophet's vision of the approaching judgments of God as he gave vent to the agony of his soul in the most startling declarations he had ever uttered.

Dr. Holland in giving an account of this interview tells us that Mr. Lincoln's agitation was such as Dr. Bateman had never before witnessed in him. He moved about the room with rapid, nervous strides, uttering lamentations which seemed inadequate to express the depths of his emotions. It was not anger but anguish, not pride but pity that burned with volcanic violence in his soul in the seclusion of that upper chamber in the Capitol at Springfield. The bright star of his own personal triumph at the coming election, though rising in glorious splendor, was for the time unseen and forgotten as

in vision he beheld the storm-cloud of divine wrath filling all the heavens.

"He seemed especially impressed," says Dr. Holland, "with the solemn grandeur of portions of Revelation describing the wrath of Almighty God, and repeatedly referred to his conviction that the day of wrath was at hand and would issue in the overthrow of slavery." Mr. Lincoln's manner and declarations upon that occasion filled Dr. Bateman with astonishment and indicated the violence of the storm that was raging in his soul.

It is not difficult to understand Dr. Bateman's astonishment at Mr. Lincoln's manner and statements for upon no other occasion is he known to have been so tremendously agitated or to have given utterance to such alarming apprehensions as during that memorable interview. There were other occasions upon which he was deeply stirred but never as far as known, save at that time, did he manifest his perturbed condition in the presence of another person. Once during the debates with Douglas he was aroused to the verge of anger but his words, though exceedingly forceful, seem to have been chosen with care and spoken without bitterness. He was overwhelmed with grief when death invaded his family circle in the White House but he wept in silence or gave expression to his sorrow in words of touching tenderness. He was shocked and bewildered by the disastrous defeat at Chancellorsville, but no moan or word of complaint mingled with the sound of his footsteps as in the seclusion of his private chamber he marched to and fro during all the weary watches of that woeful night.

Upon all these and similar occasions his self-restraint was marvelous, but somehow during the Bateman interview the anguish of his soul burst through his habitual restraint and found expression in acts and utterances peculiar to that one occasion. So appalling was the vision he then beheld that his cry of terror rang out upon the night as did the solemn warnings of Jeremiah when by inspiration he beheld the gathering and approaching storm of retribution which came

upon ancient Israel. It was the appalling vision of the coming judgments of the Almighty which caused Abraham Lincoln, upon that occasion, to appear, act and speak as he did at no other time. Jeremiah's lamentations were the outpouring of his loyal and loving soul when in prophetic vision he saw the bitter humiliation and sufferings of the seventy years of captivity in Babylon, and like those woeful warnings of "The Weeping Prophet" were the utterances of Abraham Lincoln when he amazed Dr. Bateman by the vehement declaration of his heart-breaking vision of the turpitude of the nation's sins and the fearful judgments of God. With the vision of a seer he beheld the coming calamity, and with the voice of a prophet he uttered his solemn warnings. He was, for a time, in the realm of spiritual illumination and his words have all the distinctive characteristics of divine inspiration. It was this, which at the time, so impressed Dr. Bateman and which ever since has given such peculiar significance to the words he uttered at that time.

But great as was his agony and pathetic as were his exclamations when he saw the storm approaching he uttered no murmur or cry of pain when his predictions were fulfilled and the rod of righteous retribution fell upon the nation.

We shall not understand Abraham Lincoln, as we should, if we fail to note the significant contrast between his agitation during the Bateman interview and his humble submission to the divine judgments when they came and the heroic fortitude with which he endured the severe chastisement of the Almighty during all of his Presidential term. His proclamations calling the people to penitence and prayer are dominated by a gentle and submissive spirit. He did not forget nor would he permit the people to forget "that by His divine law nations like individuals are subjected to punishment and chastisements in this world," and "that the awful calamity of civil war which now desolates the land may be but a punishment inflicted upon us for our presumptuous sins."

With the tenderness of a loving father he admonished the people "to recognize the hand of God in this terrible visitation and in sorrowful remembrance of our faults and crimes as a nation," "to bow in humble submission to His chastisements, to confess and deplore their sins and transgressions," "to pray that we may be spared further punishment though most justly deserved." The proclamations of President Lincoln from which these selections are taken were written by one whose soul was saturated with the letter of encouragement and counsel which Jeremiah sent to his brethren in captivity admonishing them cheerfully to submit to the divine judgments, fervently to pray for and confidently to expect the promised deliverance. Jeremiah said, "For I know the thoughts that I have toward you saith the Lord, thoughts of peace and not of evil, to give you hope in your latter end." Lincoln asked the people to pray "humbly believing that it is in accordance with His will that our place should be maintained as a united people among the families of nations."

Jeremiah, speaking for the Almighty, said: "Ye shall call upon me, and ye shall go and pray unto me, and I will hearken unto you. And ye shall seek me and find me, when ye shall search for me with all your heart."[49]

Lincoln counselled the people "to rest in the hope authorized by the divine teachings that the united cry of the nation will be heard on high and answered" by "the restoration of our divided and suffering country to its former happy condition of unity and peace."

The foregoing selections from President Lincoln's proclamations glow with intense religious fervor but there is no flame of passion as was sometimes the case when he discussed the subject of retributive divine justice in private conversation with trusted personal friends. When free from the restraints under which important state papers are prepared, Mr. Lincoln, in discussing this question assumed a manner and employed language which disclosed the great depth of his feelings on the

[49] Jer. 29: 12, 13.

subject, and bore witness to his prolonged meditation upon God's dealings with nations in this world for their complicity in wrong.

It would be difficult to find in literature anything more pathetic than the following statements of President Lincoln in a private conversation with Father Chiniquy during the dark days of the war: "My God alone knows what I have already suffered for my dear country's sake. But my fear is that the justice of God is not yet paid. When I look upon the rivers of tears and blood drawn by the lashes of the merciless masters from the veins of the very hearts of those millions of defenseless slaves, these two hundred years; when I remember the agonies, the cries, the unspeakable tortures of those people to which I have to some extent connived with so many others a part of my life, I fear that we are still far from the complete expiation. For the judgments of God are true and righteous."[50]

In the light of this lava-flow of impassioned utterances the greatness of Abraham Lincoln is revealed. The greatness of Socrates was revealed by his behavior under suffering, but he suffered alone while millions of Lincoln's beloved countrymen were with him in the furnace of affliction. Socrates was great when he calmly drank the poisonous hemlock; Lincoln was more than great when, with equal tranquillity, he emptied to its dregs the bitter cup of suffering which was pressed to his lips and wept in sympathy as he heard the groans of his fellow sufferers and realized that their chastisement was just and righteous altogether.

And in unstudied and forceful language which would not have been suitable in an official document Mr. Lincoln in this very remarkable private interview disclosed the dominance in his thought of God's dealings with nations for their transgressions. He had given much thought during earlier years to the evil character of slavery but at the time of this interview with Father Chiniquy his mind seems to have dwelt upon

[50] Fifty Years in the Church of Rome, pp. 706-711.

the sovereignty of God and His gracious though very severe administration of retributive justice.

The progress of the war and the increase of the sufferings and sorrow which it caused were to Mr. Lincoln a constant disclosure of the hand of God in executing the penalty of His violated law. Other governmental matters required and received his attention but they could not crowd back from the forefront of his thought the retributive judgments of the Almighty. If any extended declaration of his failed to mention this matter he seemed to regard it as an omission which should be explained or supplied. An illustration of this is seen in the famous Bramlette-Dixon interview and letter. Early in April, 1864, Governor Bramlette, Senator Dixon and Dr. Hodges of Kentucky had an interview with the President during which Mr. Lincoln discussed the question of slavery with such superb wisdom that he was requested to commit his statements to writing which he did in a letter to Dr. Hodges dated April 4th, 1864. In that letter Mr. Lincoln, after repeating the lucid and comprehensive statement of his attitude to slavery, which he had given at the interview a few days before, remembering that during that interview he had made no reference to the subject of retribution, added the words already quoted in this chapter.

Remembering that the letter to A. G. Hodges was written eleven months before Mr. Lincoln delivered his second inaugural address, it will be seen how even at that early day his mind and soul were being saturated with the subject which was the chief theme of that greatest of all literary productions. "The rivers of tears and blood" of which he spoke so pathetically to Father Chiniquy, seem to have haunted his vision until he saw them swallowed up in the crimson tide which "the judgments of the Lord" demanded as an expiation of the nation's sins.

It is fortunate that with Mr. Lincoln's great intellectual power there was united a heart of boundless sympathy and tenderness, thus giving to his personality a fine sense of

balance. His legal studies and training led him to recognize the immutable law of divine retribution; but with this feature of his faith, there was associated a strong belief in

Divine Compassion and Mercy

Mr. Lincoln was always distinguished for rare tenderness of heart and sympathy with all who were suffering or in need. When but a child it was his custom, if he was not in attendance upon public worship on the Lord's day, to gather his playmates about him and to discourse to them after the fashion of a preacher; and on such occasions he always admonished them to be kind to all their associates and even to dumb animals. The characteristics of his nature thus exhibited increased with his growth in stature, and in personal character. As early as 1851, in the familiar letter to his stepbrother relative to his father's illness he speaks of the Almighty as "our great and good and merciful Maker."[51]

In his great speech at Springfield, on July 17th, 1858, he made a telling point against Judge Douglas, who was seeking to win the votes of the antislavery people by saying: "Repentance before forgiveness is a provision of the Christian system, and on that condition alone will the republicans grant him forgiveness."[52]

That conception of the divine compassion and mercy which was so dominant in Mr. Lincoln's faith, is stated with great clearness and force in portions of his proclamations for a day of Thanksgiving.

In the Proclamation of August 12th, 1861, appointing "A Day of Public Prayer, Humiliation and Fasting," he invites the people "to acknowledge and revere the Supreme Government of God; to bow in humble submission to His chastisement; to confess and deplore their sins and transgressions in the full conviction that the fear of the Lord is the beginning

[51] Complete Works of Abraham Lincoln, Vol. II., p. 158.
[52] Ibid., Vol. III., p. 167.

of wisdom; and to pray with all fervency and contrition for the pardon of their past offenses. In soulful remembrance of our own faults and crimes as a nation and as individuals, to humble ourselves before Him, and to pray for His mercy—to pray that we may be spared further punishment though most justly deserved."[53]

On March 30th, 1863, he appointed "A day for national prayer and humiliation," calling upon the people "to confess their sins and transgressions with humble sorrow, yet with assured hope that genuine repentance will lead to mercy and pardon. To humble ourselves before the offended Power, to confess our national sins, and to pray for clemency and forgiveness."[54]

On October 3rd, 1863, in his proclamation appointing a day of Thanksgiving and prayer, in speaking of the great favors which had been bestowed upon the nation, he said: "No human counsel hath devised, nor hath any mortal hand worked out these great things; they are gracious gifts of the most High God, who, while dealing with us in anger for our sins hath nevertheless remembered mercy."[55]

On October 20th, 1864, in the last Proclamation which he issued appointing a day of annual Thanksgiving he admonishes the people "that on that occasion they do reverently humble themselves in the dust, and from thence offer up penitent and fervent prayers."[56]

Mr. Lincoln's regard for

The Christian Sabbath

is sufficiently expressed in the following order: "Order for Sabbath Observance, Executive Mansion, Washington, Nov. 15th, 1862.

"The President, Commander-in-Chief of the army and

[53] Complete Works of Abraham Lincoln, Vol. VI., pp. 341-343.
[54] Ibid., Vol. VIII., pp. 235-237.
[55] Ibid., Vol. IX., p. 152.
[56] Ibid., Vol. X., p. 246.

navy, desires and enjoins the orderly observance of the Sabbath by the officers and men in the military and naval service. The importance for man and beast of the prescribed weekly rest, the sacred rights of Christian soldiers, and sailors, a becoming deference to the best sentiment of a Christian people, and a due regard for the Divine Will, demand that Sunday labor in the army and navy be reduced to the measure of strict necessity. The discipline and character of the national forces should not suffer, nor the cause they defend be imperilled, by the profanation of the day or name of the Most High. 'At this time of public distress,' adopting the words of Washington in 1776, 'men may find enough to do in the service of God and their country without abandoning themselves to vice and immorality.' The first general order issued by the Father of his country after the Declaration of Independence indicates the spirit in which our institutions were founded and should ever be defended. 'The General hopes and trusts that every officer and man will endeavor to live and act as becomes a Christian soldier, defending the dearest rights and liberties of his country.' "[57]

The Church

Nothing was more manifest in Mr. Lincoln's life and in his teachings than his firm and constant belief in the Church as a divine institution. In early life his lot was cast with the Methodists and Baptists, but during his life in Springfield and at Washington, his personal denominational preferences were with the Presbyterians. He was a regular and interested worshipper in that denomination both at his home city and at the National Capital. He was also strongly attached to the Methodist Episcopal Church because of its spirituality, its cordial fellowship, its great numerical strength and its consequent large contribution to the needs of the government during all the years of his Presidency. This is felicitously expressed in the following reply to a Methodist delegation,

[57] Complete Works of Abraham Lincoln, Vol. VIII., pp. 76-77.

May 14th, 1864: "It is no fault in others that the Methodist Church sends more soldiers to the field, more nurses to the hospitals, and more prayers to heaven than any. God bless the Methodist Church. Bless all the churches, and blessed be God, who, in this our great trial, giveth us the churches."[58]

Mr. Lincoln's views respecting the justification for the existence of so many religious denominations is expressed in the following portions of his statements on that subject to a company of friends and reported by Dr. Robert Browne, as follows:

"In one of his cheeriest moods, one day, I remember, the subject of the many Protestant sects was being considered and talked over. One good old brother, a kind-hearted man, and as timid, lamented the number of sects, and hoped that some day a harmonizing spirit would prevail among all Christian believers, and that all of them would unite in one Church organization to serve the Master. Mr. Lincoln said: "My good brother, you are all wrong. The more sects we have, the better. They are all getting somebody in that the others could not; and even with the numerous divisions we are all doing tolerably well.

"It is not a certainty by any means that a quiet time is the best for progress. It is not so by any means in the progress of human liberty or the release of men from superstition and persecution under the forms of religion. The greatest achievements have always come in stirring, fighting times, like those of Luther, Cromwell, and the American revolution. What we need is not fewer sects or parties, but more freedom and independence for those we have. The sects are all right and will get through all right in the end. God is going to be more merciful to men trying to do right than most people think. He is so much more familiar with human frailties than a little sect in any single organization can be, that there is scarcely room for doubt that He will deal more gently with blundering, sinning humanity than the sects would deal with

[58] Complete Works of Abraham Lincoln, Vol. X., p. 100.

one another. I would rather there were more than less, if one were to hold all the power.

"Yet sects are right, and should hammer away until they reach the best that is attainable. God intends that men should fight their way to better conditions, and not be lazy or timid, or expect that their passage would be an easy one through the world or beyond in ignorant idleness. We are often confronted with the fear of too many sects, as so many timid people among them so often dread, and wonder which is right and which is best among them. They are all right.

"Think of the sect drilling so many of us have passed through, mostly to our advantage, as responsible beings. Our people came from the good old Quaker stock, through Pennsylvania, Virginia, and Kentucky. Circumstances took us into the Baptist sect in Indiana, in which several of our people have remained. While there, a good Methodist elder rode forty miles through a winter storm out of his way to preach my mother's funeral sermon at Spencer Creek. Here in Illinois we are with the Presbyterians, where the Methodists are as thick as bees all about us."[59]

Mr. Lincoln believed in

Salvation by Faith in Christ

This was indicated by many and very significant references to the Saviour, and the marked reverence and affection with which that name was always spoken by him. In earlier days he had been closely associated with Major Merwin in the temperance work in Illinois and always manifested deep sympathy with and interest in the gospel features of that work. Because of that interest he afterwards afforded Major Merwin every desirable opportunity to visit the front during the war to induce soldiers to abstain from intoxicants and to become Christians.

In the case of Colonel Loomis, elsewhere referred to, Mr.

[59] Abraham Lincoln and the Men of his Time, Vol. II., pp. 427-428.

Lincoln was disinclined to retain him in the position which he held until he learned of the religious work he always had conducted among the men under his command; when he remarked that this was "his highest possible recommendation."

According to the statement of Mrs. Rebecca Pomeroy, who was for fourteen weeks a nurse in the White House, the President frequently accompanied her upon her visitations to the hospitals, and would never permit her to pass over the religious exercises which formed part of her work, but always listened with close and constant attention while she pointed afflicted and suffering soldiers to Jesus Christ as the only one in whom they could find salvation, and from whom there could be administered to them consolation and comfort.

Mrs. Pomeroy in her very interesting and instructive record of the events of those weeks says that Mr. Lincoln, in a conversation with her at the White House, inquired with great diligence and minuteness concerning her methods of communicating to the soldiers the gospel message, and the evidence of their acceptance of the Saviour.

Mr. Lincoln accepted without qualification the doctrine of

Personal Regeneration.

The work of grace to which the Saviour referred when he said, "Ye must be born anew" (John 3:7), to which the Apostle referred when he said, "If any man is in Christ he is a new creature" (2 Cor. 5:17), that work which Mr. Lincoln designated as "a change of heart," was to his mind clearly taught by reason and Revelation. All that Mr. Lincoln is known to have said respecting his own religious experiences and standing bears witness to his settled conviction that personal regeneration is included in the work of saving grace and is indispensable to salvation. His carefully guarded expressions of uncertainty as to "the precise time" when he was the recipient of that gracious work of the Holy Spirit, and experienced "a change of heart," as he termed it, and his later

more definite declarations relative to the same matter give assurance of his recognition of the necessity for such an experience. His occasional reference to this matter indicates that he supposed his belief in the doctrine of regeneration was understood as a matter of course. This is confirmed by his statements which appear in later pages of this volume.

IV

LINCOLN'S FAITH IN PRAYER

IN his statement before quoted Mr. Roosevelt employs a very unusual word when he says, "Lincoln studied the Bible until he mastered it absolutely." It is not often that any one is credited with having "mastered" a great literary production, yet in a carefully prepared address upon an important occasion, when as chief magistrate of the nation he occupied a position which caused his words to have peculiar weight, Mr. Roosevelt declared that Lincoln had "mastered absolutely" the greatest book in existence.

Mr. Lincoln's methods of study were calculated to accomplish the result here claimed for him by the former President. He was always thorough in his examination of every subject that he deemed worthy of consideration. He carefully read, diligently studied and pondered over volumes which others hastily perused. Thus he became able to repeat verbatim extended passages from books and other publications upon which he had bestowed absorbing attention. By the same painstaking methods he studied the Bible and by so doing he came into that sublime and beautiful faith in prayer which for more than half a century has been the marvel of the world.

When Mr. Lincoln discovered a very skillfully constructed plot to secure by perjury a verdict against his client in the case he was conducting for Father Chiniquy, he said: "The only way to be sure of a favorable verdict tomorrow is that God Almighty will take our part and show your innocence. Go to Him and pray for He alone can save you." At three o'clock, the next morning, Mr. Lincoln came to Father Chiniquy's room, and finding him in agonizing and tearful prayer, merrily exclaimed: "Cheer up, their diabolical plot is all known and if

they do not fly away before the dawn of day they will surely be lynched. Bless the Lord, you are saved."

A little later, while in conversation with Father Chiniquy, he said: "The way you have been saved when, I confess it again, I thought everything was nearly lost, is one of the most extraordinary occurrences I ever saw. It makes me remember what I have too often forgotten and what my mother often told me when young—that our God is a prayer-hearing God. This good thought sown into my young heart by that dear mother's hand was in my mind when I told you to go and pray. But I confess to you that I had not faith enough to believe that your prayer would be so quickly and so marvelously answered."[1]

He Asked for Prayers

A sincere, earnest request to be remembered and mentioned in the prayers which others offer should be regarded as quite as pronounced an expression of faith in the efficacy of prayer as could be stated in human language. With some it means but little to make a request for prayer, but such was not the case with Abraham Lincoln. He was a man of such proportions, so broad and generous in his human sympathies, so profound and earnest in his regard for sacred things, and so absolutely sincere, that for him to express a desire to be remembered in the prayers of others, meant all that was in his power to express. The record of his eventful life is marked by many such requests. Some of these will be stated in this connection, and I must begin by asking the reader to stand with me, in imagination, in the dampness and falling snow of that 11th of February, 1861, when Mr. Lincoln bade adieu to his friends and neighbors as he started on his journey to Washington for his inauguration as President, and hear him say: "To His care commending you, as I trust in your prayers you will commend me, I bid you an affectionate farewell."

[1] Fifty Years in the Church of Rome, pp. 657, 658, 662.

Mr. Lincoln had just been speaking of the assurance of God's presence and of His all-sufficient helpfulness given to Washington and those associated with him; and realizing, as he did, and as he most beautifully stated, his own utter unfitness for the great task before him he turned with all the simplicity and solemn earnestness of a devout and spiritually enlightened soul to the one only source of help in times of need. His whole confidence was in God and with all his heart and soul he believed in the efficacy of prayer in securing divine assistance. He believed in his neighbors and friends who stood before him and in the potency of their prayers. His heart yearned to be remembered by them when they were interceding with God for the imperilled nation. But let us not forget that while his heart was yearning for remembrance in their prayers, he did not, and could not forget that they, too, were in need of the presence and blessing of Omnipotence. And this doubtless brought him unconsciously to an expression of his belief in what is known as "communion in intercession."

"There is a place where spirits blend,
Where friend holds fellowship with friend,
Though sundered far, by faith they meet,
Around one common Mercy-seat."

When interceding for a common cause we have fellowship in prayer sweet, and comforting. But it was something more personal, more inexpressibly precious, that Mr. Lincoln had in mind. What was in his thought is often expressed in devotional conferences and testimonies. No doubt Mr. Lincoln, on many occasions, at social religious services which he frequently attended, had heard the request and promise: "I hope to be remembered in your prayers and I will not forget you when I pray." The thought expressed in that very common statement was the thought which Mr. Lincoln clothed in such incomparably beautiful language, in the closing passage of that farewell address.

To doubt that his soul was full to overflowing of the sacred sentiments which those words expressed; to doubt his belief that in answer to the prayers of the people from whom he was taking his final leave much good could and would come to him which otherwise might not be received; to doubt his own firm faith that God would, in answer to his own prayers, minister good to those from whom he was about to be separated, is to dishonor the name of Abraham Lincoln and to commit an unspeakable offense against the sacred truth of which he was a living personification.

If nothing else than this beautiful and gracious request had ever been spoken or written by Abraham Lincoln respecting the subject of prayer, humanity would stand uncovered in his presence, overawed by his sublime and abiding faith in God and in scriptural intercession. With bated breath an anxious world listened to those words, moved as it at no other time had been with the realization that God's chosen man was responding to the divine call and going forth to tasks as great as any which in the past had engaged the efforts of others, and more difficult than any which the foremost of his contemporaries could perform. And in harmony with this avowal of his own longing for the fellowship of intercession, and his confidence in prayer, there came from his lips and pen, as the years went by, and difficulties accumulated, and darkness gathered, expressions of a faith that never faltered through all the years of his earthly life.

To the multitudes that came to meet him as he passed through the great centers on his journey to the Capital, he spoke in terms and tones befitting such a chieftain at such a crisis, and at every point he turned the thought of those who heard him to the ability of God to save the nation, and to His willingness to do so in answer to the supplications of the people.

As Mr. Lincoln stood erect and hopeful, although in the agony of ever-darkening apprehensions, he directed the thought of the American people to the importance of seeking and

striving to merit and secure the gracious favor of Almighty God as in the following impressive words of his first official declaration: "Intelligence, patriotism, Christianity and a firm reliance on Him who has never yet forsaken this favored land are still competent to adjust, in the best way, all our present needs."

During the months and years that followed, the President's calls of the nation to their knees in prayer were frequent and urgent. In many ways he expressed his desire to be remembered in the prayers of praying people. To Hon. L. E. Chittenden, one of his trusted counsellors, he said: "It makes me stronger and more confident to know that all Christians in the loyal states are praying for our success, that all their influences are working to the same end. Thousands of them are fighting for us, and no one will say that an officer or a private is less brave because he is a praying soldier."

Dr. William H. Roberts states that during eighteen months while a soldier in the Union Army and stationed at Washington, he often saw President Lincoln at the prayer meeting of the New York Avenue Presbyterian Church, sometimes in the lecture room, and at other times in the pastor's study to avoid having his hour of prayer interrupted by persons seeking governmental favor.

A clergyman from New York during a call at the White House said: "I have not come to ask any favors of you, Mr. President, I have only come to say that the loyal people of the North are sustaining you and will continue to do so. We are giving you all that we have,—the lives of our sons as well as our confidence and our prayers. You must know that no pious father or mother ever kneels in prayer these days without asking God to give you strength and wisdom.

"The tears filled Lincoln's eyes as he thanked his visitor and said: 'But for those prayers I should have faltered and perhaps failed long ago. Tell every father and mother you know to keep on praying and I will keep on fighting, for I know that God is on our side.'

"As the clergyman started to leave the room, Lincoln held him by the hand and said: 'I suppose I may consider this a sort of pastoral call.'

" 'Yes,' replied the clergyman.

" 'Out in our country,' continued Lincoln, 'when a parson makes a pastoral call it was always the custom for the folks to ask him to lead in prayer, and I should like to ask you to pray with me today; pray that I may have strength and wisdom.' The two men knelt side by side before a settee and the clergyman offered the most fervent appeal to the Almighty Power that ever fell from his lips. As they arose, Lincoln grasped his visitor's hand and remarked in a satisfied sort of way,—

" 'I feel better.' "[2]

No father will fail to feel strong heart throbs of tender sympathy as he peruses the following statement by Mrs. Pomeroy, the army nurse who ministered to the Lincoln family at the time of Willie's death: "The third day, and the sick one's better, he had to go into his office, for he had not been there for several days. Looking on the little sufferer he said: 'I hope you will pray for him and if it is God's will, that he may be spared. And also pray for me, for I need the prayers of many.' The fourth day and the sad duty done, that of laying his dear son 'Willie' out of sight, my heart prompted me to say, 'Look up for strength,' and he kindly answered, 'I will go to God with my sorrows.' "[3]

Never in personal conversation did Abraham Lincoln rise to a higher level than when he thus humbled himself before his God and became, for the time, naught else but a sinful mortal in need of human intercession and divine grace. It was no hard task requiring special effort for the President to issue a proclamation asking the people to unite in prayer for the nation, for the army, and for the government; but to say, "Pray for *me*," was a heroic act which few men in like position

[2] The True Abraham Lincoln, pp. 383-384.
[3] Lincoln Scrap-book, p. 54.

ever have achieved. How closely this request of Mr. Lincoln resembles that of the great Apostle in his letter to the Ephesians, when he says: "Praying always with all prayer and supplication in the Spirit . . . for all saints and for me also" (Eph. 6: 18-19); just as his request for the prayers of his neighbors in his farewell address at Springfield resembles the words of Paul to the Church at Rome, "Strive together with me in your prayers to God for me."[4]

Respecting Mr. Lincoln's faith in prayer, and his interest in a personal religious experience, Mrs. Pomeroy, through William M. Thayer, places the world under obligations by the following statements:

"He inquired very minutely into the method of speaking with sick and dying soldiers—what she said to them—how they answered her—how many of them became Christians? He accompanied her many times to the hospital and witnessed her effective management and talked with the soldiers and encouraged them. On learning that the managers of the hospital, who were Roman Catholics, had forbidden the Protestant nurses to pray with the soldiers, or read the Bible to them, he promptly removed the restriction, and allowed Christian women henceforth to hold prayer meetings, read the Bible to the 'boys' and pray with them, as much as they pleased, adding: 'If there was more praying and less swearing it would be far better for our country, and we all need to be prayed for, officers as well as privates, and if I was near death I think I should like to hear prayer.' "[5]

Many Prayed for Him

Next to his own pastor, the Rev. N. W. Miner, D.D., pastor of the First Baptist Church, Springfield, Illinois, may be regarded as having been Mr. Lincoln's most highly esteemed friend and counsellor in religious matters. Their re-

[4] Romans 15: 30.

[5] William M. Thayer, From Pioneer to White House, p. 353.

lation of personal friendship extended over a period of many years and any word of information from Dr. Miner respecting Mr. Lincoln is of special value. There is, therefore, peculiar interest in the following:

"In the early part of the winter of 1861, a meeting was held in the First Presbyterian Church of Springfield, and was largely attended by the most respectable and best people of the city. Many fervent prayers were offered for our beloved country, and for the man whom Providence had raised up to guide the ship of state over a rough and stormy sea. Mr. Lincoln listened attentively to the earnest prayers which were made with thrilling interest. At the close of the meeting I passed down the aisle in which he was standing and taking me by the hand he said, with deep emotion: 'Mr. Miner, this has been a good meeting. I hardly know how it could have been made better. I feel very grateful for the prayers offered in my behalf and hope they may be answered.' "[6]

Mr. Lincoln's expression of appreciation of the services above mentioned is an unqualified declaration of his interest in the prayer service of the church.

In the following Dr. Miner tells of another conversation with Mr. Lincoln, at the White House:

"During my visit I said to him: 'Well, Mr. Lincoln, you have this encouragement. Christian people all over the country are praying for you as they never prayed for mortal man before.'

" 'I believe that,' he said, 'and this is an encouraging thought to me. If I were not sustained by the prayers of God's people I could not endure the constant pressure. I should give up hoping for success.' "[7]

The following is of rare value because it contains a very significant statement of Mr. Lincoln's estimate of secret prayer, and also because it comes from one of his most esteemed and cherished friends:

"When reminded that he was daily remembered by those

[6] Lincoln Scrap-book, pp. 51-52. [7] Ibid.

who prayed 'not to be heard of men,' as no man ever had before been remembered, he caught at the homely phrase and said, 'Yes, I like that phrase "not to be heard of men," and guess it is generally true as you say. At least I have been told so and I have been a great deal helped by just that thought.' "[8]

To the same effect is the following:

"Prayer can do what armies cannot," suggested Mrs. Pomeroy; "and never were so many prayers offered for a country as are offered for ours, and never so many offered for a ruler as are offered for you, Mr. President."

"I know it," answered Mr. Lincoln, deeply moved by the thought; "and it is great encouragement to me. Our cause is righteous, and I do believe that God will give us the victory; but this slaughtering of men is dreadful for both sides."[9]

On the morning of Willie's funeral, Mrs. Pomeroy expressed her deep sympathy for him, and called his attention to the many prayers going up for him. "I am glad to hear that," he answered wiping away his tears; "I want they should pray for me. I need their prayers. I will try to go to God with my sorrows."[10]

It would be impossible to exaggerate the significance in this connection of the following charming incident:

"The last week in January, 1864, the Sanitary Commission held a four days' session in Washington, at the conclusion of which between forty and fifty of the ladies went in a body to call upon the President. As related by one of the ladies present, he took each by the hand in the usual perfunctory manner, until it became the turn of a little Quaker lady from Philadelphia.

"She had to rise on tiptoe to reach his hand. As she did so her voice uttered some words I did not catch but their effect I saw.

"As when lights suddenly blaze behind a cathedral's win-

[8] Noah Brooks, in *Harper's Magazine* for July, 1865, p. 226.
[9] From Pioneer Home to White House, pp. 349-350.
[10] Ibid., p. 351.

dows, flashing beauty where was but formless dullness, so the soul of light illuminated these rugged features and poured from the wonderful eyes. The gaunt and bent form straightened, even the angles seemed to fill out and cause the figure to assume the proportions which nature had intended. The mouth became even beautiful in its sweetness. As the transfigured face bent above the upturned bonnet of the little Quaker lady, whose features it hid from us, a stream of blessing seemed to flow from his face to hers.

"While he still held her hand she said to him: 'Yes, Friend Abraham, thee need not think thee stands alone. We are all praying for thee. All our hearts, the hearts of all the people are behind thee, and thee cannot fail. The Lord has appointed thee, the Lord will sustain thee, and the people love thee. Yea, as no other man was ever loved before does this people love thee. We are only a few weak women, but we represent many. Take comfort, Friend Abraham, God is with thee. The people are behind thee.'

" 'I know it,' replied Mr. Lincoln, the great soft voice rolling solemnly and sweetly forth from the trembling lips; 'I know it. If I did not have that knowledge, it is not hope, it is knowledge, the knowledge that God is sustaining and will sustain me until my appointed work is done, I could not live. If I did not believe that the hearts of loyal people were with me, I could not endure it. My heart would have broken long ago. It is that blessed knowledge and that blessed relief that holds me to my work. This has been a sad day, and I was almost overwhelmed when you came in. You have given a cup of cold water to a very thirsty and grateful man. Ladies, you have done me a great kindness today. I knew it before. I knew that good men and women were praying for me, but I was so tired I had almost forgotten. God bless you all.' "[11]

[11] Helen Everston Smith, one of the commissioners, in *The Independent*, 1900, pp. 435-436.

Prayer with Him

It is difficult to believe that at a time when the nation's life was in such great peril, leading men at Washington, and in other parts of the country were engaged in a conspiracy to give aid and comfort to those who were in rebellion and to make more difficult the efforts which were being made to preserve the Union.

But such was the case as all know who are at all familiar with the history of those times. At one of the meetings held by the leaders of that disloyal movement, as was usual at such gatherings, Mr. Lincoln was denounced with great vehemence and malignity. After listening to those denunciations for a time one of their number arose and said:

"I was up at the White House, having called to see the President on business. I was shown into the office of his private secretary, and told that Mr. Lincoln was busy just then, but would be disengaged in a short time. While waiting I heard a very earnest prayer being uttered in a loud female voice in the adjoining room. I inquired what it meant, and was told that an old Quaker lady, a friend of the President's, had called that afternoon and taken tea at the White House, and that she was then praying with Mr. Lincoln. After the lapse of a few minutes the prayer ceased, and the President accompanied by a Quakeress not less than eighty years old, entered the room where I was sitting. I made up my mind then, gentlemen, that Mr. Lincoln was not a bad man; and I don't think it will be easy to efface the impression that the scene I witnessed and the voice I heard made on my mind." [18]

Father Charles Chiniquy, at the close of his account of an interview with the President, says:

"Never had I heard such sublime words, never had I seen a human face so solemn and so prophet-like as the face of the President when uttering these things. Every sentence had come to me as a hymn from heaven, reverberated by the echoes

[18] F. B. Carpenter, Six Months in the White House, p. 191.

of the mountains of Pisgah and Calvary. I was beside myself. Bathed in tears, I tried to say something, but I could not utter a word. I knew the hour to leave had come. I asked from the President permission to fall on my knees and pray with him that his life might be spared; and he knelt with me. But I prayed more with my tears and sobs than with my words. Then I pressed his hand on my lips and bathed it with tears, and with a heart filled with unspeakable desolation I bade him adieu. It was for the last time, for the hour was fast approaching when he was to fall by the hand of an assassin, for his nation's sake."[14]

The following is descriptive of a scene in the White House during a visit of some leaders of the Friends' Church:

"The good man rested his head upon his hands and under a precious gathering influence I knelt in solemn prayer. He knelt close beside me and I felt that his heart went with every word as utterance was given. I afterwards addressed him and when we rose to go he shook my hand heartily and thanked me for the visit."[15]

Brigadier General James F. Rusling, in his charming book, "Men and Things I Saw in Civil War Days," p. 417, places us all under obligations by the following:

"Bishop Edmund Janes testified that: 'Many times during the war, when I visited Lincoln in his private office in Washington, he said: "Do not go, Bishop, until you have prayed with me. We need your prayers and the divine direction in these critical hours," and so time after time I knelt by Mr. Lincoln in the White House when we two were alone, and carried the cause of the Union and the needs of the President's anxious heart and of our distracted country to the Lord in prayer.' "

Similar to the event mentioned by General Rusling is the following by Rev. Edgar Dewitt Jones, in the *Homiletic Review*, for 1909, p. 156: "To Bishop Simpson, who called once

[14] Fifty Years in the Church of Rome, pp. 706-711.
[15] Friends' Review, Lincoln Scrap-book, p. 51.

when the clouds were thickest Lincoln said: 'Bishop, I feel the need of prayer as never before. Please pray for me,' and the two men then fell on their knees in prayer to God for strength and guidance."

A Praying President

The strongest evidence of Mr. Lincoln's faith in the efficacy of prayer was his own devout prayerfulness.

Of the twenty-six men who, by election or succession, have occupied the position of President of the United States, Abraham Lincoln is the only one who could fittingly be designated, "The Praying President." Some were earnest Christians, others held official positions in the Church and were active in religious work, but Lincoln alone lays bare to us his soulful and secret intercessions with God in prayer, and yet no one of our chief magistrates possessed a larger measure than did Abraham Lincoln of that delicate sensibility that would naturally cause him to keep closed the door of his closet of secret prayer. No one would have been more inclined than he to avoid unnecessary mention of religious matters in conversation, public address, or state papers. Under the tremendous strain and stress of his presidential duties he was often pressed to his knees; and happily for us there are times when he invites us into the inner sanctuary of his confident and constant dependence upon God, and reveals his habit of frequent and fervent prayer.

So clear and emphatic, so many and unreserved are his declarations respecting his confidence in God, his submission to the divine will, and his assurance that in His own good time our Heavenly Father would give victory and restore peace to the nation, that, mingled with the tumult of the battlefield, we can hear the voice of earnest entreaty coming from the secret sanctuary of the White House and ascending to the throne of God. And sometimes during the silence of the midnight hour, when weary soldiers rested on the fields stained with their own blood and with the blood of their fallen com-

rades, awaiting the renewed assaults the morning's gray dawn was sure to bring, the all-night vigils of "the Praying President" were divided between the sound of the heavy tread of his tireless feet, as he strode from wall to wall of his private room, and those recurring seasons of oppressive silence which we have come to know he spent upon his knees in prayer.

In his own lucid language and with becoming modesty he tells us the grounds on which he claimed divine interposition, the specific favors he sought, and his own solemn vows before God. We have but to read and meditate upon his own words respecting his prayerful life, and his life of prayer, to be able to recognize in every favorable issue of battle, every wise measure of administration, and the final triumph of right, the ever-present and potential influence of our mother-taught, Bible-built, Spirit-led President in his "power with God" in prayer.

That the God-fearing people of the nation were also in prayer does not weaken our claim that the most fitting picture* of Abraham Lincoln is one which represents him upon his knees in prayer, and that, as the world meditates more deeply upon his own solemn words, and upon the testimony of those who knew him best, he will more and more come to be remembered, recognized and revered as "the Praying President" of the United States.

The prayerfulness which characterized Mr. Lincoln's life in the White House began before his election as President. Dr. Newton Bateman tells us that during an interview in October, 1860, "he freely stated his belief in the duty, privilege and efficacy of prayer, and intimated in no unmistakable terms that he had sought in that way the divine guidance and favor."[16]

Mrs. Lincoln states that on the morning of his first inauguration, "He read his inaugural address to his family, and after having read it, he requested to be left alone. The door stood ajar, and his friends distinctly heard him in prayer, com-

[16] John G. Holland, Life of Abraham Lincoln, p. 238. *See p. 385.

mending himself, his country, and his family to the care and protection of God. The weight of responsibility laid upon him was too great for his human heart to bear alone."[17]

It was not alone on great occasions like that of his inauguration that Mr. Lincoln turned to God in prayer. He prayed "at all seasons." Noah Brooks, who, but for the President's assassination would have been one of his confidential secretaries, in a letter to Rev. J. A. Reed, states that Mr. Lincoln informed him "that after he went to the White House he kept up the habit of daily prayer. Sometimes he said it was only ten words but those ten words he had."[18]

Hon. John G. Nicolay, one of the President's private secretaries, who knew him as fully as was the privilege of any man, says: "Mr. Lincoln was a praying man; I know that to be a fact. And I have heard him request people to pray for him, which he would not have done had he not believed that prayer is answered. Many a time have I heard Mr. Lincoln ask ministers and Christian women to pray for him, and he did not do this for effect. He was no hypocrite, and had such reverence for sacred things that he would not trifle with them. I have heard him say that he prayed."[19]

Of the many whose testimony respecting Mr. Lincoln's character and private life is of interest and value, there are none whose words should have greater weight with the reader than those of Major J. B. Merwin, who, for many years previous to the war and during all the period of that great struggle was intimately associated with Mr. Lincoln. They wrought together in the early and later fifties in behalf of anti-liquor legislation and the cause of temperance in general. And during all the period of the war Major Merwin was on such relations of intimacy with the President as might be expected from their relations and fellowship during preceding years.

[17] William M. Thayer, From Pioneer Home to White House, pp. 334-335.
[18] *Scribner's Magazine*, 1873, p. 333.
[19] William Eleroy Curtis, The True Abraham Lincoln, pp. 385-386.

In October, 1910, Major Merwin, then living at Middlefield, Conn., wrote as follows:

"I knew Mr. Lincoln intimately from 1854 on to the day of his assassination. Dined with him that day. He came to be one of the most profoundly Christian men I ever knew. He had no religious cant about him at all. I heard and saw Mr. Lincoln pray often. He was divinely aided, and asked—begged—for such guidance, conscious of his own need of help beyond any human aid."[20]

Coming as it does from a man of such great ability, exalted character and personal fellowship with Mr. Lincoln, as was the case with Judge Henry C. Whitney, the following touches our heart very deeply:

"We sadly know that too many Christians pray perfunctorily, simply to pray—to observe the Christian habit and fashion; but Lincoln did not pray as a form, or as an end. His prayers were for a utilitarian purpose and object—to obtain help in time of dire need. He says, 'I have been driven many times upon my knees by the overwhelming conviction that I had nowhere else to go; my own wisdom and that of all about me seemed insufficient for that day.'"

"His prayers were not as those of the hypocrites 'who stand and pray in the synagogues and in the corners of the streets that they may be seen of men,' nor did he 'use vain repetitions as the heathen do,' but he entered into his closet and when he had shut the door prayed to his Father in secret."[21]

Of Lincoln's habitual prayerfulness, Judge Whitney thus testifies: "He believed in the direct intervention of God in our national affairs, and he frequently used to ask Him in a direct, manly way to grant this boon, avert that disaster, or advise him what to do in a given contingency."[22]

Dr. Robert Browne publishes the following declaration of

[20] What was Abraham Lincoln's Religion? p. 26.
[21] Life on the Circuit with Lincoln, pp. 270-271.
[22] Lincoln, the Citizen, p. 207.

Mr. Lincoln's: "I have talked with God. It is His cause, and the Union is His. As He willeth, so it will be. We can but follow and pray for its integrity and for mercy to the fallen."[23]

After the second battle of Bull Run, President Lincoln said: "I have done as well as I could. I prayed to God to direct me the right way and now I must leave the consequences to Him."

Prayer and Praise

Upon one occasion while sitting at dinner he could not eat, being so full of trouble. Arousing himself from his reverie he remarked: "The battle of Port Hudson is now going on and many lives will be sacrificed on both sides, but I have done the best I could trusting in God; for it will be unfortunate if they gain this important point. And on the other hand if we can only gain it we shall gain much and I think we shall for we have a great deal to thank God for, for we have Vicksburg and Gettysburg already." Mrs. Rebecca Pomeroy, whom I am quoting, adds: "Said I to this great, good man, 'Mr. Lincoln, prayer will do what nothing else will. Can you not pray?' 'Yes, I will,' and while the tears were dropping from his haggard and worn-out face, he said, 'Pray for me.' And he went to his room, and could the nation have heard his earnest petition, as I did, they would have fallen on their knees in reverential sympathy. At twelve o'clock at night while the soldiers were guarding the house, the sentinel riding by, quickly halted in front of the house with a telegram that was carried to the President. In a few minutes after the door opened and the President, standing under the chandelier, with one of the sweetest expressions I ever saw him wear, said: 'Good news; good news; Port Hudson is ours. The victory is ours and God is good.' Said I to him, 'Nothing like prayer in times of trouble.' 'Oh, yes, yes, praise, for prayer and praise go together.' "[24]

[23] Abraham Lincoln and the Men of his Time, Vol. II., p. 378.
[24] Lincoln Scrap-book, p. 54.

Early Morning Vigil

The full history of President Lincoln's midnight meditations and prayers, and of his early morning vigils, read like a romance in this age of easy living and limited religious fervor —as also reads the story of the lonely struggles of Jesus Christ. We can scarcely imagine that necessities could so weigh upon us, and the sense of helplessness and dependence upon God could be so keenly realized as to cause us to spend hours needed for rest in solitary places and in communion with the Father.

The Gospel record of the Saviour's early morning vigil, "In the morning rising up a great while before day, He went out and departed into a solitary place and there prayed," is a fitting prelude to the following:

"A distinguished lawyer of New York who is a professing Christian and an intimate friend of my informant had occasion some time since to see the President in Washington. He went to the White House, met Mr. Lincoln and asked for an interview of an hour. Mr. Lincoln said that the pressure of public duties forced him to decline such an interview. He urged that it was important. The President still declined. The gentleman was leaving when Mr. Lincoln stopped him and asked if he would be willing to come at five o'clock the next morning. He gladly agreed to do so and arrived at the White House the next morning as he supposed at five o'clock.

"On consulting his watch at the street lamp he found he had made a mistake of an hour and that it was only four o'clock. He determined to walk about the grounds until the time agreed upon. Coming near a window of one of the rooms of the Presidential Mansion he heard sounds of apparent distress. On listening he found it was the voice of the President engaged in an agony of prayer. The burden of his petition was, 'Oh! God, I cannot see my way. Give me light. I am ignorant, give me wisdom. Teach me what to do and help me to do it. Our country is in peril. Oh! God, it is Thy country, save it for Christ's sake.'

"Here the gentleman felt his position to be questionable and passing on he left the President with his God. On entering the White House he mentioned what he had heard to the usher, who informed him that the President spent the hour between four and five every morning in prayer."[25]

Prayer Answered

It is beyond all question that much of Mr. Lincoln's remarkable wisdom, and his superiority to his fellows, which usually are attributed to his transcendent genius, were due to his familiarity with the Bible, his constant fellowship with God, and the promptings of the Holy Spirit.

The Sanitary Commission, with all its complicated machinery and its measureless influence for good, is usually regarded as a product of Mr. Lincoln's heart and brain. But that Commission was the achievement of more than human wisdom as is shown by the following from Dr. Iglehart:

"In my study at Buffalo, the officers of the Church, after the business of an evening had been transacted, fell into an informal discussion of the subject of Lincoln's religion. One claimed that Lincoln was a rank atheist. Another said he was inclined to think him an unbeliever, especially since he had read what Lincoln's old law partner had said on the subject. Most of those present held the opinion that he was a man of faith and prayer, a true Christian. I suggested that the difference of opinion on the subject grew out of the fact that early in life Lincoln, like many others, had a period of unbelief, when he said and wrote some things unfriendly to Christianity, but that when he came up to the tremendous responsibilities of leadership that were laid upon him, he leaned hard upon the Divine arm, and sought and found divine guidance, and that in character and life he proved himself to be a true Christian. Dr. (David) Hill, a trustee, who had been silent up to this time said: "Brethren, I think I can settle the

[25] Rev. John Falkner Blake, Rector of Christ Church, Bridgeport, Conn., in a sermon delivered April 19th, 1865.

question and put at rest any doubt of the great President's faith. During the war there was a reception given at the White House to the members of the Sanitary Commission. I was present. During the evening I took the opportunity to compliment President Lincoln on the wonderful success of the Commission. He said, 'Doctor, would you like to know how this institution was started?' 'I certainly would, Mr. President,' said I. He continued, 'One rainy night I could not sleep; the wounds of the soldiers and sailors distressed me; their pains pierced my heart, and I asked God to show me how they could have better relief. After wrestling some time in prayer, He put the plans of the Sanitary Commission in my mind, and they have been carried out pretty much as God gave them to me that night. Doctor, thank our kind heavenly Father and not me for the Sanitary Commission.' 'Do you think,' said Dr. Hill, 'that a man that would do or talk that way could be anything but a true believer. Gentlemen, if those of us who are leaders in the Church, shall have as much real religion as President Lincoln had we will have very little difficulty in getting to heaven.' After Dr. Hill had spoken there was nothing more to be said on the subject and it was unanimously agreed that Lincoln was a true believer in God and in His holy religion."

This charming and instructive story, as it here appears, was recently sent me by the narrator, Rev. F. C. Iglehart, D.D., with a letter granting permission to reproduce it. It is unsurpassed in its disclosure of Mr. Lincoln's belief in a God who hears and answers prayer.

With peculiar satisfaction I call attention of the reader to an incident made public by the distinguished elocutionist and lecturer, James F. Murdoch. We can never know the full extent of the nation's obligations to that distinguished patriot. It was my privilege to be active in the stirring events with which he was connected, and I know much of his patriotic sacrifices and services. When the exigencies of the nation seemed to require of him the sacrifice, he turned aside from

lucrative employment and devoted his time, talent and income to the nation's needs. His matchless talent as a reader, his personal integrity, and his known devotion to the country caused Mr. Murdoch to be held in high esteem during the years of my residence at Washington. No hall was sufficiently large to hold the audience that would gather when it was announced that in the interest of some patriotic movement Mr. Murdoch would give an entertainment. I still can hear in memory the loud and prolonged applause with which his appearance on the platform was always greeted, and with which his rendering of Barbara Frietchie, Sheridan's Ride, and like readings were responded to by the multitude who heard him.

Mr. Lincoln appreciated Mr. Murdoch's services and when convenient delighted to have him as his guest at the White House.

The editor of *The Advance* tells this never-to-be-forgotten story which he had from his lips: "I spent three weeks in the White House with Mr. Lincoln as his guest. One night, it was just after the Battle of Bull Run, I was restless and could not sleep. I was repeating the part which I was to take in a public performance. The hour was past midnight, indeed it was coming near the dawn, when I heard low tones proceeding from a private room near where the President slept. The door was partly open. I saw the President kneeling beside an open window. The light was turned low in the room. His back was toward me. For a moment I was silent, looking in amazement and wonder. Then he cried out in tones so pleading and sorrowful: 'O, thou God that heard Solomon in the night when he prayed for wisdom, hear me. I cannot lead this people, I cannot guide the affairs of this nation without Thy help. I am poor, and weak and sinful. O God, who didst hear Solomon when he cried for wisdom, hear me and save this nation.'"

Then Mr. Murdoch adds: "I think from that time the clouds which had hung low and threatening over the affairs of our government, began to roll away; the skies were brighter;

the smile of heaven was upon our President. God heard his prayer and sent deliverance."[26]

Those who would know Abraham Lincoln must see him in his secret chamber on his knees before Almighty God, as Murdoch did, and must, as did that distinguished patriot, hear him pray.

The Rev. F. C. Monfort, D.D., editor and publisher of *The Herald and Presbyter*, Cincinnati, Ohio, on May 2nd, 1914, wrote me as follows:

"I studied elocution under James F. Murdoch and talked with him frequently. I have heard him tell the story of Abraham Lincoln's prayer which he overheard. I do not remember details nor even where he was, though the impression is in my mind that he was a visitor at the White House."

But of all the testimonies regarding President Lincoln's religious faith and life the greatest and best is a declaration made by him to General Daniel E. Sickles on July 5th, 1863.

It will be remembered that the Battle of Gettysburg was fought on the 1st, 2nd, and 3rd of July, 1863, and that General Sickles, while in command of the Third Corps in that battle, received a severe wound requiring the amputation of one of his legs. On the Sunday following the battle General Sickles was in the hospital at Washington and was called upon by General James F. Rusling, a member of his staff, who states that soon after his arrival President Lincoln came "with his son 'Tad' and remained an hour or more." General Rusling states that during this visit General Sickles inquired of the President if he were anxious respecting the results of the battle at Gettysburg. What followed this inquiry is thus stated and confirmed by both General Rusling and General Sickles:

In reply to a question from General Sickles whether or not the President was anxious about the Battle of Gettysburg, Lincoln gravely said: "No, sir, I was not; some of my Cabinet and many others in Washington were, but I had no fears." General Sickles inquired how this was, and seemed curious

[26] The Presbyterian, April 5th, 1893.

[illegible] BOOK

[illegible] I will [illegible] up there. [illegible] could tell [illegible] by the gravity of our [illegible] and prayed to [illegible] that this [illegible] we could not stand [illegible] and I then and [illegible] that if He would [illegible] I would stand by Him. And [illegible] by Him. And after [illegible] explain it, soon a [illegible] Almighty God had [illegible] two roads and that things [illegible] why I had no [illegible]

[illegible] which victory [illegible] have been praying for [illegible] Father is going to [illegible] course, he did not know [illegible] before. Gen- [illegible] calmly and pathet- [illegible] and that "his man- [illegible]

[illegible] was first told, [illegible] by General [illegible] in Washington, [illegible] by General [illegible] and on the 11th of [illegible] passed away, [illegible] at his home in Trenton, [illegible] gave the follow- [illegible] in this volume:

GENERAL DANIEL E. SICKLES

To whom Lincoln stated that he prayed during the Battle of Gettysburg. From an original photograph in the author's collection.

(*See page 385*)

"I hereby certify that the foregoing is an account prepared by me, of a conversation between President Lincoln and General Sickles in my presence at Washington, D. C., July 5th, 1863, relating to Gettysburg. That statement was prepared with great care and is absolutely correct in every particular.

JAMES F. RUSLING,
Bvt. Brig. Gen'l U. S. A.

Trenton, N. J.
June 24, 1914."

Abraham Lincoln was himself the strongest evidence of faith in the efficacy of prayer, and of personal prayerfulness. Stronger proof of this than the multiplied testimonies of those who knew him most intimately, stronger even than his own emphatic declarations of his confident waiting upon God in soulful supplication were his Christlike character and life. Such qualities of heart and soul as those which he ever manifested, are the fruitage of devout and earnest prayer.

Only at the Mercy-seat where the sweet incense of intercession rises before the Lord and fills all the Holy Place, can the fragrance of such holy living be secured. Only by "beholding as in a glass the glory of the Lord" are we "changed into the same image from glory to glory, even as by the Spirit of the Lord." (2 Cor. 3:18.) And that transforming vision of which the Apostle here speaks, is the exclusive privilege of those who "behold the beauty of the Lord and inquire in his temple." As the Master prayed "the fashion of His countenance was altered," and He was transfigured before His amazed disciples. The face of Moses became luminous with divine glory as he held communion with Jehovah and though "he wist not that his face did shine," all who saw him were deeply moved by the marvelous transformation.

Such qualities of soul and spirit as were possessed and manifested by Abraham Lincoln are formed only in that inner sanctuary where a devout and earnest soul meets with God in prayer. And only by prolonged and patient waiting upon the

Lord in earnest supplication can any one attain, as Mr. Lincoln did, to such high degrees of Christian qualities.

There is a profound significance in Mr. Lincoln's belief in

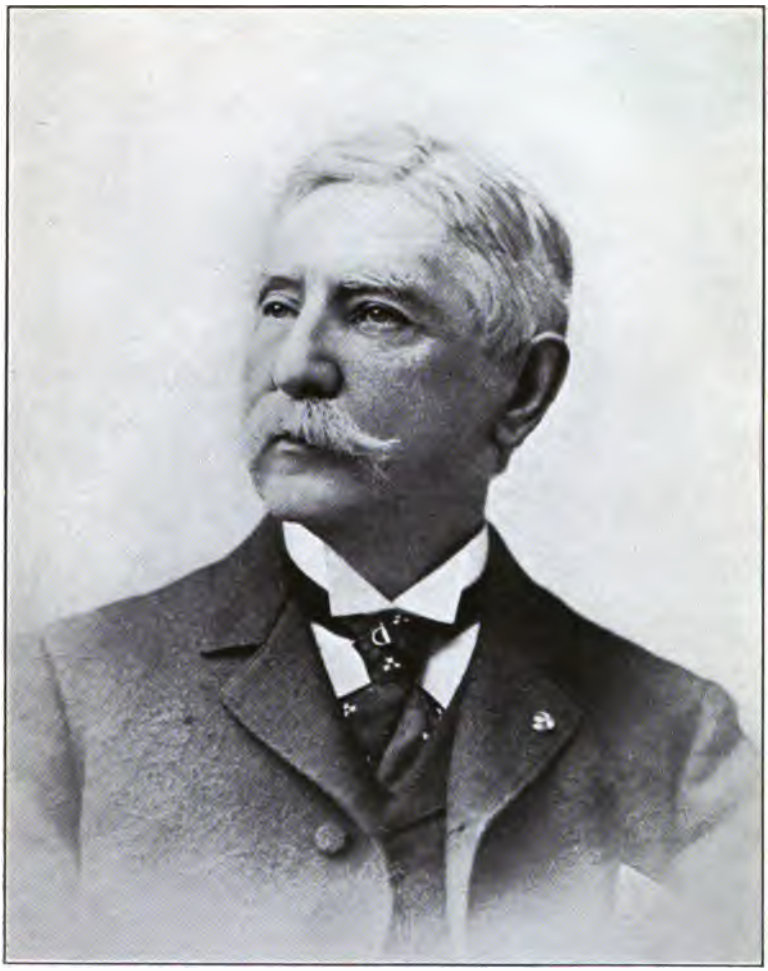
A Future Judgment

It is said of Daniel Webster that late in his life that great statesman and orator was asked what he regarded as the most solemn and impressive of all his thoughts. To this question, after a moment's silence, he slowly and forcefully replied: "The thought of my personal responsibility to God." Abraham Lincoln lived and toiled, sacrificed and suffered in the constant realization of that most solemn and impressive thought. His honesty appeared to spring from religious convictions, and it was his habit when conversing of things which most intimately concerned himself to say that however he might be misapprehended by men who did not appear to know him, he was glad to know that no thought or intent of his escaped the observation of that Judge by whose final decree he expected to stand or fall in this world and the next. It seemed as though this was his surest refuge at times when he was most misunderstood or misrepresented.

In his first inaugural address, delivered March 4th, 1861, to those who were at that time contemplating rebellion on account of his election, he said: "You can have no conflict without being yourselves the aggressors. You have no oath registered in heaven to destroy the government, while I shall have the most solemn one to 'preserve, protect and defend it.' "[27]

In his address at a fair in the interest of the Sanitary Commission, in Baltimore on April 18th, 1864, referring to his enlistment of colored people in the army, Mr. Lincoln said: "Upon a clear conviction of duty I am resolved to turn that element of strength to account; and I am responsible for it to the American people, to the Christian world, to history, and in my final account to God."[28]

[27] Complete Works of Abraham Lincoln, Vol. VI., pp. 184-185.
[28] Ibid., Vol. X., p. 79.



GENERAL JAMES F. RUSLING

Whose account of President Lincoln's interview with General Sickles is here published.

(*See page 387*)

A few days later, May 30th, 1864, in a letter to Senator Doolittle and others, from which I have quoted elsewhere, Mr. Lincoln stated: "When brought to my final reckoning may I have to answer for robbing no man of his goods, yet more tolerable even this, than for robbing one of himself and all that was his."[29]

Speaking of a pardon which he had just issued to a soldier under sentence of death, he said: "I could not think of going into eternity with the blood of the poor young man on my skirts."[30]

In their great contribution to the literature of the world, entitled, "Abraham Lincoln, A History," the private secretaries of the great President speak of his sense of responsibility to God and belief in a future judgment in the following chaste and forceful language: "From that morning when, standing amid the falling snowflakes on the railway car at Springfield, he asked the prayers of his neighbors in those touching phrases whose echo rose that night in invocations from thousands of family altars, to the memorable hour when on the steps of the National Capitol he humbled himself before his Creator in the sublime words of the second inaugural, there is not an expression known to have come from his lips or pen but proves that he held himself answerable in every act of his career to a more august tribunal than any on earth. The fact that he was not a communicant of any church, and that he was singularly reserved in regard to his personal religious life, gives only the greater force to these striking proofs of his profound reverence and faith."

Mr. Lincoln's religious faith unquestionably included belief in

Future Punishment

With him character and destiny were inseparably connected. The reward of virtue and the punishment of sin were sure. This life was the seed time of which the life to come was

[29] Complete Works of Abraham Lincoln, Vol. X., pp. 109-110.
[30] D. D. Thompson, Abraham Lincoln, p. 83.

the harvest. He speaks of the "finally impenitent" clearly indicating his belief in the duration of moral conditions beyond the confines of this present world. Early in his public life, when a member of the Illinois legislature, during a tremendous struggle to secure the removal of the capital of the state from Salem to Springfield, Mr. Lincoln was greatly disturbed by efforts to couple with that movement, which he approved, other measures to which he was unchangeably opposed. While that struggle was in progress a caucus was held for the purpose of dissuading Mr. Lincoln from his determination to oppose the capital removal measure unless it was disassociated from the schemes to which he objected. Mr. Lincoln remained unyielding and past the hour of midnight he arose in the caucus and made what has been characterized as a speech of great eloquence and power in opposition to the movement as it then stood, at the close of which he said: "You may burn my body to ashes, and scatter them to the winds of heaven; you may drag my soul down to the regions of darkness and despair to be tormented forever; but you will never get me to support a measure which I believe to be wrong, although by doing so I may accomplish that which I believe to be right."[21]

In a letter to George Robertson dated August 15th, 1855, Mr. Lincoln expresses great depression of spirits, in view of what he regarded as the tendency in the direction of the perpetuation and nationalization of the institution of slavery. In this letter he says: "So far as peaceable voluntary Emancipation is concerned, the condition of the Negro slave in America, scarcely less terrible to the contemplation of a free man, is now as fixed and hopeless of change for the better, as that of the lost souls of the finally impenitent."[22]

In granting a respite for Nathaniel Gordon, to whom he could not see his way clear to give a pardon, on February 4th, 1862, Mr. Lincoln said: "In granting this respite it becomes my painful duty to admonish the prisoner that, relinquishing

[21] Ida M. Tarbell, Life of Lincoln, Vol. I., p. 139.
[22] Complete Works of Abraham Lincoln, Vol. II., p. 280.

A PRAYING PRESIDENT.

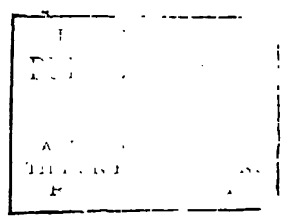
GEN. JAMES F. RUSLING, of Trenton, N.J., relates a significant conversation which he heard on Sunday, July 5, 1863, in the room in Washington where Gen. Sickles lay wounded, just after the great victory at Gettysburg. In reply to a question from Gen. Sickles whether or not the President was anxious about the battle at Gettysburg, Lincoln gravely said, "No, I was not; some of my cabinet and many others in Washington were, but I had no fears." Gen. Sickles inquired how this was, and seemed curious about it. Mr. Lincoln hesitated, but finally replied: "Well, I will tell you how it was. In the pinch of your campaign up there, when everybody seemed panic-stricken, and nobody could tell what was going to happen, oppressed by the gravity of our affairs, I went to my room one day, and locked the door, and got down on my knees before Almighty God, and prayed to Him mightily for victory at Gettysburg. I told Him that this was His war, and our cause His cause, but we couldn't stand another Fredericksburg or Chancellorsville. And I then and there made a solemn vow to Almighty God, that if He would stand by our boys at Gettysburg, I would stand by Him. And He did stand by you boys, and I will stand by Him. And after that (I don't know how it was, and I can't explain it), soon a sweet comfort crept into my soul that God Almighty had taken the whole business into His own hands and that things would go all right at Gettysburg. And that is why I had no fears about you." Asked concerning Vicksburg, the news of which victory had not yet reached him, he said, "I have been praying for Vicksburg also, and believe our Heavenly Father is going to give us victory there, too." Of course, he did not know that Vicksburg had already surrendered the day before. Gen. Rusling says that Mr. Lincoln spoke "solemnly and pathetically, as if from the depth of his heart," and that his manner was deeply touching.

GENERAL RUSLING'S CERTIFICATE

I hereby certify that the foregoing is an account prepared by me of a conversation between President Lincoln and Gen. Sickles in my presence at Washington, D.C., July 5, 1863, relating to Gettysburg. That statement was prepared with great care and is absolutely correct in every particular.

Trenton, N.J.
June 24, 1914.

James F. Rusling.
Late, By. Genl. U.S.A.



all expectation of pardon by human authority, he refer himself alone to the mercy of the common God and Father of all men."[33]

Rev. Theodore Cuyler, D.D., says: "On the day after he (Lincoln) heard of the awful slaughter at Fredericksburg, he remarked at the War Office, 'If any of the lost in hell suffered worse than I did last night I pity them.' "[34]

Probably the most emphatic declaration of Mr. Lincoln concerning the future punishment is to be found in his reference to the efforts which were being made to induce him to retract and nullify the Emancipation Proclamation. Respecting those efforts he says: "There have been men base enough to propose to me to return to slavery the black warriors of Port Hudson and Olustee, and thus win the respect of the masters they fought. Should I do so, I should deserve to be damned in time and eternity. Come what will, I will keep my faith with friend and foe."[35]

Consolation in Death

As early as February 3rd, 1842, in a letter of touching tenderness, addressed to his lifelong friend, Joshua F. Speed, in speaking of the serious and possibly fatal illness of his friend's wife, Mr. Lincoln said: "The death scenes of those we love are surely painful enough; but these we are prepared for and expect to see; they happen to all, and all know they must happen. Painful as they are, they are not an unlooked for sorrow. Should she, as you fear, be destined to an early grave, it is indeed a great consolation to know that she is so well prepared to meet it. Her religion which you once disliked so much, I will venture you now prize most highly."[36]

In addition to the assurance afforded by the foregoing letter of Mr. Lincoln's belief in the consolations of grace at

[33] Complete Works of Abraham Lincoln, Vol. VII., p. 96.
[34] Recollections of a Long Life, p. 145.
[35] Complete Works of Abraham Lincoln, Vol. X., p. 191.
[36] Ibid., Vol. I., p. 186.

death, we are also assured of his firm and unquestioning faith in

A Future Life

Mrs. Pomeroy, from whom I have already quoted, says concerning this: "The first four weeks that I was looking after little Tad I was feeling exceedingly anxious about my boys (sick soldiers) and the President proposed taking me every few days to the hospital that I might report to him how they felt when near death, and what they thought of the future."[37]

Rev. F. C. Iglehart, D.D., tells us that sitting by the bedside of a dying woman for whom he had just written a will, Mr. Lincoln listened to her joyful declaration that she was fully prepared for death and for the future life, and very feelingly said: "Your faith in Christ is wise and strong. Your hope of a future life is blessed. You are to be congratulated on passing through this life so usefully and into the future so happily."[38]

In 1856, at the residence of the Hon. Norman B. Judd, in Chicago, Mr. Lincoln with rare beauty and fitness expressed his belief in immortality and the future life, as follows:

"It was in the autumn of that year, and during the trial in the Federal Court of the great Rock Island Bridge case, involving the right of the railway company to bridge the Mississippi. Lincoln was spending the evening at the home of Mrs. Judd, situated on Michigan Avenue, and looking directly out upon Lake Michigan. As the party sat on the piazza, the full moon rose out of the lake, casting its light on many a sail of the numerous ships going in and out of the harbor. The waves were beating a low anthem against the breakwater and the shore. The scene, beautiful beyond description, was peculiarly novel and impressive to Mr. Lincoln, whose home was on the prairies far inland. He recited, with great expression, Buchanan Read's poem, descriptive of the Bay of Naples, and then went on to speak of the wonders of astronomy and of the

[37] Lincoln Scrap-book, p. 54. [38] The Speaking Oak.

sublime power of the great Creator, who had brought the numberless worlds all around us into existence, and who had created man with an intellect able to discover the wonders of the universe. 'Surely God would not have created such a being as man, with an ability to grasp the infinite, to exist only for a day! No,' said he, 'man was made for immortality."[39]

It is comforting to know that in the midst of his weariness, heartache and anguish of soul Mr. Lincoln fully believed in and looked confidently forward to

Eternal Felicity in Heaven

On the 12th of January, 1851, in a letter to his stepbrother, John D. Johnston, he said: "I sincerely hope father may recover his health, but at all events, tell him to remember to call upon and confide in our great and good and merciful Maker, who will not turn from him in any extremity. He notes the fall of the sparrow, and numbers the hairs of our heads, and He will not forget the dying man who puts his trust in Him. Say to him that if we could meet now it is doubtful whether it would not be more painful than pleasant, but that if it be his lot to go now, he will soon have a joyous meeting with many loved ones gone before, and where the rest of us, through the help of God, hope ere long to join them."[40]

Mr. Lincoln's belief in the reuniting of earthly ties and recognition in heaven was very beautifully declared by an expressive gesture a few weeks previous to his departure from Springfield to assume the duties of President. With that filial devotion for which he was so distinguished, he took a cross-country ride by private conveyance to a distant place for a last interview with his beloved stepmother, who was then far advanced in years and very feeble.

At the close of their brief visit Mr. Lincoln arose and affectionately embraced the white-haired matron, pressing her

[39] I. N. Arnold, The Layman's Faith, p. 29.
[40] Complete Works of Abraham Lincoln, Vol. II., p. 148.

close to his breast and tenderly caressing her withered cheek. "Abram," she said with trembling voice, "I shall never see you again."

Pressing her still more closely to his breast and raising his right hand with his finger pointing upward he said: "Mother," and not another word was uttered. That silent gesture was more eloquent than words and was prophetic of their reunion in a better world.

Elizabeth Keckley says: "When Willie died, as he lay on the bed, Mr. Lincoln came to the bed, lifted the cover from the face of his child, gazed at it long and earnestly murmuring: 'My poor boy, he was too good for this earth. God has called him home. I know that he is much better off in heaven, but then we loved him so. It is hard, hard to have him die.' "[41]

[41] Behind the Scenes, p. 103.

V

LINCOLN'S RELIGIOUS EXPERIENCE

THE foregoing array of evidence proves beyond all question that Abraham Lincoln firmly believed in the Bible as the divinely inspired Word of God, and in the commonly accepted doctrines of the Christian Church. His own statements in official papers, public utterances, private correspondence, and personal interviews, respecting these matters are so clear and unequivocal, so pronounced and earnest, as to answer fully and forever all inquiries respecting his religious belief.

Equally abundant and convincing is the evidence of his personal religious experiences and life. That he accepted Jesus Christ as his personal Saviour and became the recipient of the regenerating work of the Holy Spirit is as certain as any historical fact. Evidence of this is cumulative and complete and includes all kinds of authentic, valid testimony.

Abraham Lincoln's Conversion

Written statements in Mr. Lincoln's own handwriting constitute evidence touching this matter which no one can reasonably deny or doubt. Next in value and strength to such testimony are the authentic statements of trustworthy persons who were closely associated with Mr. Lincoln and were highly esteemed and trusted by him. Of such persons there was not one more trustworthy or more fully trusted than Rev. James F. Jaquess, D.D., pastor of the First Methodist Episcopal Church, in Springfield, Illinois, and later Colonel of the 73rd Regiment Volunteer Infantry, during all the history of that famous regiment.

President Lincoln's high estimate of the character and worth of Colonel Jaquess was forcefully expressed at the time of his assignment by the President to one of the most important and peculiarly difficult and successful missions of the war, the Jaquess-Gilmore Embassy of Peace, of which an extended account appears elsewhere in this work and should be read in connection with the subjoined statement by Colonel Jaquess respecting an interview between Mr. Lincoln and himself in Springfield, Illinois.

COLONEL JAQUESS' STATEMENT

was made at a reunion of the 73rd Regiment of the Illinois Infantry, held September 28–29, 1897, in Springfield, and is as follows:

"The mention of Mr. Lincoln's name recalls to my mind an occurrence that perhaps I ought to mention. Very soon after my second year's work as a minister in the Illinois Conference I was sent to Springfield.

"One beautiful Sunday morning in May, I was standing in the front door of the parsonage when a little boy came up to me and said: 'Mr. Lincoln sent me around to see if you was going to preach today.' Now, I had met Mr. Lincoln, but I never thought any more of 'Abe' Lincoln than I did of any one else. I said to the boy: 'You go back and tell Mr. Lincoln that if he will come to church he will see whether I am going to preach or not.' The little fellow stood working his fingers and finally said: 'Mr. Lincoln told me he would give me a quarter if I would find out whether you are going to preach.' I did not want to rob the little fellow of his income, so I told him to tell Mr. Lincoln that I was going to try to preach.

"The church was filled that morning. It was a good-sized church, but on that day all the seats were filled. I had chosen for my text the words, 'Ye must be born again,' and during the course of my sermon I laid particular stress on the word 'must.' Mr. Lincoln came into the church after the services

had commenced, and there being no vacant seats, chairs were put in the altar in front of the pulpit, and Mr. Lincoln and Governor French and wife sat in the altar during the entire services, Mr. Lincoln on my left and Governor French on my right, and I noticed that Mr. Lincoln appeared to be deeply interested in the sermon. A few days after that Sunday Mr. Lincoln called on me and informed me that he had been greatly impressed with my remarks on Sunday and that he had come to talk with me further on the matter. I invited him in, and my wife and I talked and prayed with him for hours. Now, I have seen many persons converted; I have seen hundreds brought to Christ, and if ever a person was converted, Abraham Lincoln was converted that night in my house."[1]

There is every reason for giving this remarkable story unquestioning credence. That it was voluntarily related by Colonel Jaquess at the time and upon the occasion designated is beyond question. It is recorded here just as given by him in the printed proceedings of a reunion of Colonel Jaquess' regiment. It is also certain that the Colonel was absolutely incapable of fabricating such a story. Furthermore, the incident explains the apparently mysterious eagerness with which President Lincoln welcomed, considered and favored the seemingly preposterous mission proposed by Colonel Jaquess in 1863. Such an incident as is mentioned in this Jaquess statement could not have failed to cause Mr. Lincoln to hold the minister with whom he had such an interview in high esteem and to cherish for him the confidence and love which he manifested toward him. It is well known that Mr. Lincoln approved of, and enjoyed a sermon aflame with fervid enthusiasm. He was greatly interested in and deeply moved by the preaching of Rev. Peter Aked whose burning eloquence was not unlike that of Dr. Jaquess. Hence, the diligence with

[1] Minutes of the proceedings of the Eleventh Annual Reunion Survivors 73rd Regiment, Illinois Infantry Volunteers, p. 30. *The Christian Advocate*, November 11th, 1909.

which Mr. Lincoln sought to be assured that Dr. Jaquess would preach on that Sabbath morning in May, 1849, and his profound interest in the sermon to which he listened.

The prolonged silence of those who knew of this event in Mr. Lincoln's life is quite understandable and does not justify any doubt of the story itself. It was like Mr. Lincoln to make no mention of this event to any person; and it was just like Dr. Jaquess to regard the affair as confidential, and to leave the question of publicity at the time wholly with Mr. Lincoln. Some preachers would have proclaimed the event from the housetop, but Mr. Lincoln never would have sought such an interview with a minister of that caliber and character.

It was with reference to this same subject of the new birth that Nicodemus had his memorable private interview "at night" with the Master, and we have no information that either Jesus or Nicodemus ever gave the affair any publicity, until after the lapse of half a century the story was told in the Gospel by John.

Mr. Lincoln's subsequent period of doubt concerning religious matters was strictly normal, and does not to any degree discredit the account of the declaration of his acceptance of Christ during the interview in the Jaquess' home. As elsewhere stated, people of Mr. Lincoln's temperament and mental make-up usually come into a large and satisfying faith by passing through a period of doubt. Therefore, instead of discrediting the Jaquess' story, Mr. Lincoln's later season of doubt confirms the account of that event in his life and bears witness to his surrender to Christ, as stated by Colonel Jaquess, and to the sincerity of subsequent efforts to keep the covenant he made at the time of that surrender. That surrender of his will and heart naturally called for the approval of his reason and led to investigation of Christian evidences which followed, and which was so honest and thorough as to seem to be unsettling; but which, in fact, was the process by which a strongly intellectual nature reached settled and satisfactory convictions.

The claim that Mr. Lincoln was so deeply moved by Dr. Jaquess' sermon on the "New Birth" as to seek from him further light on the subject, and that at the interview in the parsonage he declared his acceptance of Christ as his personal Saviour is not at variance with any of Mr. Lincoln's subsequent declarations. In considering those declarations it should be remembered that Mr. Lincoln was of a secretive nature and respecting religious matters he was peculiarly

Reserved and Reticent.

Mr. Lincoln seemed to regard his personal religious experience as a matter of sacred confidence between himself and the Saviour. He was familiar with the testimony given by professing Christians at "Experience meetings," and always listened to them with interest, but with rare exceptions he refrained from speaking of his own religious experience. While delighting to bear witness to his faith in God and in the Scriptures, and to his trust in Divine Providence, he was exceptionally reserved and reluctant in regard to the work of grace in his own heart. To only a favored few, and upon rare occasions, did he speak of his personal relation to Christ.

So acute and accurate was he in perception, and so sensitive to spiritual atmosphere that it required a delicate and peculiarly responsive nature to cause him to unbosom himself by speaking of the things of the inner life. Referring to this trait in his character Colonel A. K. McClure remarks: "I saw Mr. Lincoln many times during his Presidential term, and, like all of the many others who had intimate relations with him, I enjoyed his confidence only within the limitations of the necessities of the occasion."[2]

To the same effect Colonel McClure says still further: "Mr. Lincoln gave his confidence to no living man without reservation. He trusted many, but he trusted only within the carefully-studied limitations of their usefulness, and when

[2] Lincoln and Men of War Times, p. 4.

he trusted he confided, as a rule, only to the extent necessary to make that trust available." [3]

This from F. B. Carpenter, the artist: "Doubtless he felt as deeply upon the great questions of the soul and eternity as any other thoughtful man; but the very tenderness and humility of his nature would not permit the exposure of his inmost convictions, except upon the rarest occasions, and to his most intimate friends." [4]

And this from Dr. J. G. Holland: "It was rare that he exhibited what was religious in him; and he never did this at all, except when he found just the nature and character that were sympathetic with that aspect and element of his character. A great deal of his best, deepest, largest life he kept almost constantly from view, because he would not expose it to the eyes and apprehension of the careless multitude." [5]

In connection with the account of the "Bateman Interview" Dr. Holland has this to say: "It was one of the peculiarities of Mr. Lincoln to hide these religious experiences from the eyes of the world. In the same State House where this conversation occurred, there were men who imagined—who really believed, who freely said—that Mr. Lincoln had probably revealed himself with less restraint to them than to others, men who thought they knew him as they knew their bosom companions, who had never in their whole lives heard from his lips one word of all these religious convictions and experiences. They did not regard him as a religious man. They had never seen anything but the active lawyer, the keen politician, the jovial, fun-loving companion, in Mr. Lincoln. All this department of his life he had kept carefully hidden from them. Why he should say that he was obliged to appear differently to others does not appear; but the fact is a matter of history that he never exposed his own religious life to those who had no sympathy with it. It is doubtful

[3] Lincoln and Men of War Times, p. 65.
[4] Six Months in the White House, pp. 185-186.
[5] Life of Abraham Lincoln, p. 241.

whether the clergymen of Springfield knew anything of these experiences. Very few of them were in political sympathy with him; and it is evident that he could open his heart to no one except under the most favorable circumstances. The fountain from which gushed up so grand and good a life was kept carefully covered from the eyes of the world. Its possessor looked into it often, but the careless or curious crowd were never favored with the vision. There was much in his conduct that was simply a cover to these thoughts—an attempt to conceal them."[6]

There were, however, some, though only a very limited number, to whom Mr. Lincoln spoke quite freely respecting his religious experiences. Late in October, 1860, in one of his doubting moods, a few days prior to his first election to the Presidency, Mr. Lincoln in conversation with Dr. Newton Bateman said: "I am not a Christian. God knows I would be one, but I have carefully read the Bible, and I do not so understand this Book. I know there is a God, and that He hates injustice and slavery. I see the storm coming, and I know that His hand is in it. If he has a place and work for me—and I think He has—I believe I am ready." In the same conversation he said: "I think more on these subjects than upon all others, and I have done so for years." [7]

This absence of sunny certainty must not be taken as a repudiation of his Christian standing, but as something that belongs to an introspective and self-exacting nature.

During his administration as President, in a conversation with his close personal friend Noah Brooks, Mr. Lincoln said: "I am very sure that if I do not go away from here a wiser man, I shall go away a better man, for having learned here what a very poor sort of a man I am." [8]

"Referring to what he called a change of heart, he said he did not remember any precise time when he passed through

[6] Life of Abraham Lincoln, pp. 239-240.
[7] Ibid., pp. 237-238.
[8] *Harper's Magazine*, 1865, p. 226.

any special change of purpose, or of heart; but he would say, that his own election to office, and the crisis immediately following, influentially determined him in what he called a 'process of crystallization,' then going on in his mind."[9]

Respecting these statements, Mr. Brooks says: "Reticent as he was, and shy of discoursing much of his own mental exercises, these few utterances now have a value with those who knew him, which his dying words would scarcely have possessed."[9]

At one time in conversation with a very prominent Christian woman, Mr. Lincoln said: "Mrs. ———, I have formed a very high opinion of your Christian character, and now, as we are alone, I have a mind to ask you to give me, in brief, your idea of what constitutes a true religious experience."

After listening attentively to the answer to his question, Mr. Lincoln very earnestly said: "If what you have told me is really a correct view of this great subject, I think I can say with sincerity that I hope I am a Christian. I had lived until my boy Willie died without realizing fully these things. That blow overwhelmed me. It showed me my weakness as I had never felt it before, and if I can take what you have stated as a test, I think I can safely say that I know something of that change of which you speak; and I will further add, that it has been my intention for some time, at a suitable opportunity, to make a public religious profession."[10]

In publishing Mr. Carpenter's account of this incident, Judge Whitney says: "This statement was made to an eminent Christian lady, and may be relied on as authentic, and it shows conclusively that Abraham Lincoln was a Christian."[11]

General Horatio King tells this corroborative incident: "Shortly before his death an Illinois clergyman asked Lincoln: 'Do you love Jesus?' Mr. Lincoln solemnly replied: 'When I left Springfield I asked the people to pray for me. I

[9] *Harper's Magazine*, p. 226.
[10] Six Months in the White House, p. 187.
[11] Life on the Circuit with Lincoln, p. 281.

was not a Christian. When I buried my son, the severest trial of my life, I was not a Christian. But when I went to Gettysburg and saw the graves of thousands of our soldiers, I then and there consecrated myself to Christ. Yes I do love Jesus.' "[12]

Mr. O. H. Olroyd reports Mr. Lincoln to have said: "I have often wished that I was a more devout man than I am."[13]

Dr. P. D. Gurley, Mr. Lincoln's pastor, said, after the President's death, in a conversation with Dr. J. A. Reed: "I had frequent and intimate conversations with him (Lincoln) on the subject of the Bible and the Christian religion when he could have no motive to deceive me, and I considered him sound not only in the truth of the Christian Religion but in all its fundamental doctrines and teachings. And more than that: In the latter days of his chastened and weary life, after the death of his son Willie and his visit to the battlefield of Gettysburg, he said with tears in his eyes that he had lost confidence in everything but God, and that he now believed his heart was changed and that he loved the Saviour and if he was not deceived in himself it was his intention soon to make a profession of religion."[14]

The foregoing statements by Mr. Lincoln himself and by others, tell the story of the progressive experience of a thoroughly sincere and conscientious Christian man. This experience was in harmony with the words of the Prophet, "Let us know, let us follow on to know the Lord." [15] They came in the natural order and sequence described by Jesus in the figure, "First the blade, then the ear, then the full corn in the ear."[16] They followed the law of increase indicated in the words, "The path of the righteous is as a shining light that shineth more and more unto the perfect day."[17]

Mr. Lincoln's life during the period covered by these statements was a progressive experience marked all the way by battles and victories, by struggles and achievements, as is the

[12] *Christian Work and Evangelist.*
[13] Lincoln Album, p. 254. [14] *Scribner's Magazine,* July, 1873, p. 339.
[15] Hos. 6:3. [16] Mark 4:28. [17] Prov. 4:18.

case with all true Christians. It was a perfectly normal Christian experience, orderly in sequence and growth. It was like the ever-enlarging experience of Paul from his first vision of Jesus near Damascus, when he said, "Who art thou, Lord?" to the time when from his prison at Rome, he sent the farewell testimony: "I am already being offered, and the time of my departure is come. I have fought the good fight, I have finished the course, I have kept the faith: henceforth there is laid up for me the crown of righteousness, which the Lord, the righteous judge, shall give to me at that day."[18]

The life of Lincoln, like that of Paul, was one of toil and hardship, of sacrifice and suffering; but through it all there was an ever-increasing disclosure of divine love and compassion, and an ever-deepening experience of divine grace. Perhaps in no respect was there a closer similarity in these two lives than in the constant increase of their realization of the Lord's presence and power, their own consecration to His service, and their steady and manifest transformation into His character and likeness. Not less laborious than the life of Paul was the life of Abraham Lincoln, and not more Christlike was Paul's forgiveness of his enemies than was Abraham Lincoln's spirit toward those who, without just cause, heaped cruel maledictions upon his devoted head.

And how like the experiences of Mary and Martha were the results of Lincoln's heartbreaking grief at the death of his beautiful boy. The sisters of Lazarus knew Jesus intimately before the death of their brother, but they did not know and they never could have known His unspeakable preciousness without the overwhelming sorrow which came upon them and brought Him to their relief.

Mr. Lincoln may have thought he experienced a change of heart when he realized the consolations of divine grace at that time of his sore bereavement; and he may have been even more fully convinced of his acceptance with God, when on the battlefield of Gettysburg he renewed his consecration

[18] 2 Tim. 4:6-8.

to God; but those who have had large experience in Christian life fully understand that such events usually are attended by a deepening of the soul's conscious need, and a quickening of faith that apprehends the Lord's presence and the gracious ministrations of His grace.

The Christian's life is like climbing a mountain, which always requires vigorous and persevering effort, and in which as we ascend, the area of our vision is constantly enlarged; new and beautiful scenes come into view; the atmosphere becomes clearer and the ability to see is quickened and made more acute by our exertions.

Very much like this did Mr. Lincoln's religious life rise from the comparatively low level of the Bateman Interview in 1860 to the good confession which he witnessed to Dr. Gurley four years later. That was a still greater height when he prepared his second inaugural address and soon afterward declared that the defeated enemy would be treated by the Government with forbearance and kindness. But it should not be forgotten that the Bateman Interview was one of the way-marks of the journey leading up to the heights of Christian attainment which Mr. Lincoln reached.

But while the Christian world accepts with the utmost satisfaction Mr. Lincoln's declarations during the later years of his Presidency that he was a Christian and that he had consciously experienced the regenerating work of the Spirit which he always designated as "a change of heart," it needed no testimony from Mr. Lincoln's lips to warrant or to strengthen the assurance that he was a devout child of God through faith in Jesus Christ. His character and life declare him to have been a Christian with greater certainty than could any oral or written declaration of a religious experience.

But the world will always be reluctant to believe that Abraham Lincoln's Christian life began as late as the time when he claimed to have experienced a change of heart. His statement that he was not a Christian at an earlier date, was

based upon his lack of a satisfying religious experience. He evidently thought that he should be able to state "the precise time" when he became a Christian, which only a limited number of believers can do. Nor is such knowledge necessary. Christian life like natural life has its infancy and youth, and the reality of later conscious existence does not depend upon our recollection of the beginning of that life. It is enough for any one to know that he is now an accepted child of God, through faith in Jesus Christ.

The Restraints of Modesty

undoubtedly caused Mr. Lincoln to refrain from claiming to be a Christian after he had fully complied with all the conditions of salvation.

He was temperamentally inclined to self-depreciation and seemed incapable of claiming for himself any personal excellence or merit. When in 1832 he was first a candidate for the legislature, in an exceedingly modest circular to the voters, he expressed the fear that he was "more presuming" than was becoming, and added: "I was born and have ever remained in the most humble walks of life."[19]

When in 1854 he first decided "to try to be United States senator," he wrote Judge Joseph Gillispie requesting his support and said: "I know, and acknowledge, that you have as just claims to the place as I have, and therefore I cannot ask you to yield to me if you are thinking of becoming a candidate yourself." [20]

When in 1856 the dispatches stated that in the national republican convention he had received a large vote as the nominee for vice-president, with characteristic modesty he waived it aside by saying: "It must have been another Lincoln who resides in Massachusetts."

In 1858 in furnishing data for the publisher of the dic-

[19] Complete Works of Abraham Lincoln, Vol. I., p. 8.
[20] Ibid., Vol. II., p. 265.

tionary of Congress he says of himself: "Education defective."

In 1859, after his great debates with Douglas, in a letter promising a service requested by Hon. N. B. Judd, he said: "I shall attend to it as well as I know how, which, God knows, will not be very good." [21]

A few days later in a letter to J. W. Fell, he explained the lack of material in data furnished by him for a biography, by saying: "There is not much of it for the reason, I suppose, that there is not much of me. If anything be made out of it, I wish it to be modest, and not to go beyond the material."

In the data which he furnished with this explanation and request, he speaks of his parents as having been born of "undistinguished families—second families perhaps I should say."[22]

Only a few months previous to his nomination at Chicago, in reply to urgent requests to become a candidate for the Presidency, Mr. Lincoln said: "Do you believe that a plain, common man, as I am, of the back-river, if not 'back-woods' country, is or can be what you so ardently wish I should be, a real leader of the people? You surely do not believe that I am a great man, but rather that I am an earnest and sincere one." [23]

To his Illinois friends who in 1859, after his great debate with Douglas, insisted upon making him a candidate for President he frankly said: "I do not feel that I have reached the place in public estimation, nor do I feel that I possess the fitness and qualifications to be nominated for and possibly be elected President."[24]

And after his election as President, in an address to the legislature of Ohio, February 13th, 1861, he speaks of him-

[21] Complete Works of Abraham Lincoln, Vol. V., p. 283.
[22] Ibid., p. 287.
[23] Robert Browne, Life of Abraham Lincoln, Vol. II., p. 192.
[24] Ibid., p. 394.

self as being, "Without a name, perhaps without a reason why" he "should have a name."[25]

During his Presidency, Mr. Lincoln stated to a close friend that the story of his life was "like the sentence in Gray's Elegy—'The short and simple annals of the poor.'"

The beautiful modesty and self-depreciation revealed by these disclosures undoubtedly had much to do in causing Mr. Lincoln for so long a period to state that he was not a Christian, while his life, as judged by friends and enemies alike was a living illustration of "pure religion and undefiled before our God and Father."[26] He felt that to claim to be a Christian would be to profess a condition of purity of heart and spirit to which he seemed unwarranted in laying claim without the most assuring evidence. And unfortunately he sought that evidence by inspecting his own heart, a method which usually is not reassuring. Indeed, there are few people of Mr. Lincoln's absolute honesty and truthfulness who would claim to be Christians after rigidly examining their own hearts in the light of the requirements of Scripture as he undoubtedly was accustomed to do, especially after his memorable interview with Dr. Jaquess. Well would it be if all up-struggling souls were led to turn their eyes from the inspection of their own hearts to a trustful vision of Christ; and to see that a claim to belong to the redeemed family of God is not based upon feeling but upon faith; and that the faith through which salvation is attained, is based, not upon experience, but upon the immutable Word of God.

But at the very time that Mr. Lincoln disclaimed being a Christian, he confidently, and without hesitation, claimed that

HE WAS CHOSEN OF GOD

to be the ruler of the nation and to accomplish the great work to which he had been called. Judge Whitney says "he felt he was commissioned by God to achieve mighty results;

[25] Complete Works of Abraham Lincoln, Vol. VI., p. 121.
[26] James 1:27.

. . . he believed that God ruled the Universe through the media of agents and that he was the agent to save the nation and to abolish slavery."[27]

A few days before his first election to the Presidency, in an interview with Dr. Bateman, already referred to, he stated that he believed God had a work for him and he was ready for it.

On September 28th, 1862, in reply to an address from the Society of Friends, Mr. Lincoln speaks of himself as "being a humble instrument in the hands of our heavenly Father." [28]

In the course of an interview with Rev. Dr. Miner, he said: "It has pleased Almighty God to place me in my present position, and looking up to Him for guidance I must work out my destiny as best I can."[29]

Dr. Holland, in speaking of Mr. Lincoln's faith in an overruling Providence, says: "He believed in his inmost soul that he was an instrument in the hands of God for the accomplishment of a great purpose. The power was above him, the workers were around him, the end was beyond him. In him, Providence, the people and the purpose of both met; and as a poor, weak, imperfect man, he felt humbled by the august presence and crushed by the importance with which he had been endowed."[30]

To Mr. James R. Gilmore, the journalist, President Lincoln said: "God selects his own instruments, . . . for instance, He chose me to steer the ship through a great crisis." [31]

Fully Obedient to God's Will

Believing that he was a called and commissioned agent of the Most High, and that he was under definite and imperative divine orders Mr. Lincoln was diligent and constant in his efforts to ascertain and obey the will of God.

[27] Life on the Circuit with Lincoln, p. 276.
[28] Complete Works of Abraham Lincoln, Vol. VIII., p. 50.
[29] Lincoln Scrap-book, pp. 51-52. [30] Life of Abraham Lincoln, p. 235.
[31] Personal Recollections of Abraham Lincoln, p. 158.

In reply to a clergyman who ventured to say, in his presence, that he "hoped the Lord was on our side," Mr. Lincoln said: "I am not at all concerned about that, for I know that the Lord is *always* on the side of *right*. But it is my constant anxiety and prayer that *I* and *this nation* should be on the Lord's side."[32]

The following is peculiarly significant in that its closing words rarely appear in any of Mr. Lincoln's pronouncements: "I shall in the conscientious discharge of my duty to my country and my God, to whom we all owe allegiance, endeavor to make the best of it, *so help me God.*"[33]

In a letter to Caleb Russell and Sallie Fenton, dated January 5th, 1863, Mr. Lincoln said: "I am conscious of no desire for my country's welfare that is not in consonance with His will, and of no plan upon which we may not ask His blessing."[34]

In his statements at the White House, a record of which is given by the Hon. James F. Wilson, Mr. Lincoln said: "I think He means that we shall do more than we have yet done in furtherance of His plans, and He will open the way for our doing it. I have felt His hand upon me in great trials and submitted to His guidance, and I trust that as He shall further open the way I will be ready to walk therein, relying on His help and trusting in His goodness and wisdom."[35]

"Whatever is God's will, that will I do," was the dominant feature of Abraham Lincoln's life, and that fact places him in the front ranks of the Christian forces regardless of his conscious religious experience; for an unsurrendered will is the only obstacle that can intervene between any human soul and the full favor of God.

[32] Six Months in the White House, p. 282.
[33] Lincoln Scrap-book, pp. 59-62.
[34] Complete Works of Abraham Lincoln, Vol. VIII., p. 174.
[35] *North American Review*, 1896, p. 667.

CHRISTIAN TRUST

Mr. Lincoln's sublime trust in the Almighty is conclusive evidence that he was a Christian. In an address to a company of ministers, during the progress of the war, he remarked: "Gentlemen, my hope of success in this struggle rests on that immutable foundation, the justness and goodness of God."[86]

The following is from the President's annual message of December 1st, 1862: "And while it has not pleased the Almighty to bless us with a return of peace, we can but press on guided by the best light He gives us, trusting that in His own good time and wise way all will yet be well."[87]

That Mr. Lincoln's trust in God never wavered is indicated by the following from Hon. W. D. Kelley: "During our conversation, I said: 'Mr. President, don't you think the rebellion is very nearly at an end?'

"He took his spectacles from his brow and raising his head, after a pause of a few seconds said: 'I think it is; I think it is; but if we have not Divine support and guidance there is room yet for us to fail utterly and we will fail. . . . You have nothing but Divine support and guidance to rely upon. None of us yet comprehend this rebellion and its power.'

"Thus at that time when there seemed to be nothing to invoke an expression of that kind his sense of his, and our, dependence upon God must have utterance."[88]

That there were times when the President's trust in God ripened into full and comforting assurance, is indicated by the following from Dr. Robert Browne: "I went over to the President's, to see how things were going there. He was engaged, but soon found an excuse to retire. When we were alone, I saw that a great change had been wrought. He was

[86] Rev. J. A. Reed, *Scribner's Magazine*, Vol. VI., p. 339.
[87] Complete Works of Abraham Lincoln, Vol. VIII., p. 93.
[88] Eulogies on Lincoln, Scrap-book, Vol. II., p. 2.

comparatively at his ease. His face and features, distinctly, in smoothed-out lines and cheerful, disclosed a new-born hope. He was alive again, and as he grasped my hand firmly, I felt that the faith of God was in the man, and that his soul was full of it. He stood before me, calm, resolute and determined—the Lincoln of other and brighter days. He said: 'I am glad you have dropped in. I wanted to see you just a few minutes out of the rush about us. But things are going all right; we are going to win a victory.' "[39]

Mr. Oliver S. Munsell, president of Wesleyan University, Bloomington, Illinois, had a very pleasing acquaintance with Mr. Lincoln which began when he was only fifteen years old and continued during the years that followed. In a letter to General Chas. C. T. Collis, dated April 15th, 1893, referring to his last interview with President Lincoln in the White House, Mr. Munsell says:

"In the course of the conversation I said: 'Mr. Lincoln, in our dear old Illinois, of which we have just been talking, we are anxious, very anxious, in regard to the issue of this terrible war. We have our opinions, our hopes, and our fears. And sometimes the suspense is terrible. The thought has come to me, as I have talked with you, that you see the whole field as no other man sees, or can see it; and it has awakened in me an intense desire to ask you, seeing as you thus do see it, will our country come through safe and alive?'

"Mr. Lincoln in the outset of our interview had seemed more worn and depressed than I had ever seen him under any circumstances. No sooner had he heard my question, than his face clouded with the heavy lines of anxious thought, and the shadows again fell around him.

"He paused a moment before he made any reply, and when he did essay to speak he made two ineffectual efforts before he could command his voice, and with trembling lips and tears trickling down his furrowed cheeks, said:

" 'I do not doubt, I never have doubted for a moment, that

[39] Abraham Lincoln and Men of his Time, Vol. II., p. 684.

our country would finally come through safe and undivided. But do not misunderstand me, I do not know how it can be. I do not rely on the patriotism of our people, though no people rallied around their king as ours have rallied around me. I do not trust in the bravery and devotion of the boys in blue; God bless them, though! God never gave a prince or conqueror such an army as He has given to me. Nor yet do I rely on the loyalty and skill of our generals; though, I believe, we have the best generals in the world at the head of our armies. But the God of our fathers, who raised up this country to be the refuge and asylum of the oppressed and down-trodden of all nations, will not let it perish now. I may not live to see it, and (he added after a moment's pause) I do not expect to live to see it, but God will bring us through safe.'

"I felt humbled in the presence of Mr. Lincoln's sublime faith in the God of our fathers, . . . which shamed my own doubts and fears; and from that hour my faith in the ultimate triumph of our country never again faltered, and I bade Mr. Lincoln, as it proved, a final farewell, thanking God as I had never before thanked Him, for such a leader in our country's deadly hour of peril."[40]

Trust in Time of Trouble

There were many times when Mr. Lincoln's trust in God was put to very severe tests; times when the trend of events seemed to indicate that the struggle for the preservation of the nation was doomed to failure; times when Mr. Lincoln lost confidence in some of his commanding generals and in the success of some of his most cherished plans and efforts; but there never came a time when his confidence in the ultimate triumph of right wavered or weakened. The appalling Chancellorsville disaster in May, 1863, enshrouded President Lincoln in the greatest darkness he ever experienced.

[40] General Charles H. T. Collis, The Religion of Abraham Lincoln, p.15.

There was every reason why the Union Army should have been victorious, and just as the forces were about to join in that fearful struggle, the commanding General gave to his army and to the President, assurance that decisive victory was certain. The existing conditions which were all thoroughly understood by the President, and the assurance received by him from General Hooker, caused him to be illy prepared for the tidings which in due time came, telling of the overwhelming defeat, and humiliating retreat, of the Union forces. By no pen has the majestic demeanor of the President upon that occasion been so graphically depicted as by that of Colonel W. O. Stoddard, one of Mr. Lincoln's private secretaries:

"That night, the last visitors in Lincoln's room were Stanton and Halleck. They went away together in silence, at somewhere near nine o'clock, and the President was left alone. Not another soul was on that floor except the one secretary, who was busy with the mail in his room across the hall from the President's; and the doors of both rooms were ajar, for the night was warm. The silence was so deep that the ticking of a clock would have been noticeable; but another sound came that was almost as regular and ceaseless. It was the tread of the President's feet as he strode slowly back and forth across the chamber in which so many Presidents of the United States had done their work. Was he to be the last of the line? The last President of the entire United States? At that hour that very question had been asked of him by the battle of Chancellorsville. If he had wavered, if he had failed in faith or courage or prompt decision, then the nation, and not the army of the Potomac, would have lost its great battle.

"Ten o'clock came, without a break in the steady march, excepting now and then a pause in turning at either wall.

"Eleven o'clock came, and then another hour of that ceaseless march so accustomed the ear to it that when, a little

COLONEL W. O. STODDARD

One of President Lincoln's private secretaries, still living at Madison, N. J. From a photograph presented the author by Colonel Stoddard on June 25, 1914.

after twelve, there was a break of several minutes, the sudden silence made one put down the letters and listen.

"The President may have been at his writing table, or he may—no man knows or can guess; but at the end of the minutes, long or short, the tramp began again. Two o'clock, and he was walking yet, and when, a little after three, the secretary's task was done and he slipped noiselessly out, he turned at the head of the stairs for a moment. It was so—the last sound he heard as he went down was the footfall in Lincoln's room.

"That was not all, however. The young man had need to return early, and he was there again before eight o'clock. The President's room door was open and he went in. There sat Mr. Lincoln eating breakfast alone. He had not been out of his room; but there was a kind of cheery, hopeful, morning light on his face, instead of the funereal battle-cloud from Chancellorsville. He had watched all night, but a dawn had come, for beside his cup of coffee lay the written draft of his instructions to General Hooker to push forward to fight again. There was a decisive battle won that night in that long vigil with disaster and despair. Only a few weeks later the Army of the Potomac fought it over again as desperately, and they won it, at Gettysburg."[41]

Christian Thankfulness

Nothing more clearly indicates Mr. Lincoln's close and constant fellowship with God than his oft-repeated expression of personal gratitude for favors which he recognized as coming from the hand of God. In his annual message of December 3rd, 1861, he said: "In the midst of unprecedented political troubles we have cause of great gratitude to God for unusual good health, and most abundant harvests."[42]

In his annual message of December 8th, 1863, is the fol-

[41] Abraham Lincoln—Tributes from his Associates, pp. 48-49.
[42] Complete Works of Abraham Lincoln, Vol. VII., p. 28.

lowing: "Another year of health, and of sufficiently abundant harvests, has passed. For these, and especially for the improved condition of our national affairs, our renewed and profoundest gratitude to God is due."[43]

One year later, in his annual message of December 6th, 1864, he said: "Again the blessings of health and abundant harvests claim our profoundest gratitude to Almighty God." [44]

Thanks for Victories

All who are familiar with the story of Mr. Lincoln's inner life know that it was his custom when battles were in progress, to retire alone and plead with God for victory. The story of his intercessions with God during the Battle of Gettysburg is fittingly told in this volume by his own declarations and by the achievements of art.* His fervent plea for divine aid during that memorable struggle indicates his attitude and actions upon all similar occasions.

Mrs. Pomeroy, the Christian nurse, tells us that Mr. Lincoln was engaged in prayer for victory while the battle of Port Hudson was in progress, and when news of the victory was received and he was told, "There is nothing like prayer," he promptly responded, "Yes, there is; prayer and praise go together."

So, on July 4th, 1863, in a proclamation to the nation he said: "The President announces to the country that news from the Army of the Potomac, up to 10 P. M. of the 3rd, is such as to cover that army with the highest honor, to promise a great success to the cause of the Union, and to claim the condolence of all for the many gallant fallen; and that for this he especially desires that on this day He whose will, not ours, should ever be done be everywhere remembered and reverenced with profoundest gratitude."[45]

[43] Complete Works of Abraham Lincoln, Vol. IX., p. 224.
[44] Ibid., Vol. X., p. 283.
* See p. 377.
[45] Complete Works of Abraham Lincoln, Vol. IX., p. 17.

A few days later, to wit, July 15th, 1863, in announcing victories in the field, Mr. Lincoln said: "It has pleased Almighty God to hearken to the supplications and prayers of an afflicted people, and to vouchsafe to the army and navy of the United States victories on land and on sea so signal and so effective as to furnish reasonable grounds for augmented confidence that the union of these states will be maintained, their Constitution preserved, and their peace and prosperity permanently restored. . . . It is meet and right to recognize and confess the presence of the Almighty Father and the power of His hand equally in these triumphs and in these sorrows. . . . Now, therefore, be it known that I do set apart Thursday, the 6th day of August next to . . . render the homage due to the Divine Majesty for the wonderful things He has done in the nation's behalf."[46]

A few months later, December 7th, 1863, in announcing Union victories in East Tennessee, Mr. Lincoln said: "I recommend that all loyal people do, on receipt of this information, assemble at their places of worship and render special homage and gratitude to Almighty God for this great advancement of the national cause."[47]

On May 9th, 1864, in a proclamation to the nation, he said: "To the friends of Union and Liberty: Enough is known of army operations within the last five days to claim an especial gratitude to God, while what remains undone demands our most sincere prayers to, and reliance upon, Him without whom all human effort is vain. I recommend that all patriots at their homes, in their places of public worship, and wherever they may be, unite in common Thanksgiving and prayer to Almighty God."[48]

On the same day, May 9th, 1864, in response to a serenade, Mr. Lincoln used the following expressive language:

[46] Complete Works of Abraham Lincoln, Vol. IX., p. 32.
[47] Ibid., p. 218.
[48] Ibid., Vol. X., p. 94.

"I am indeed very grateful to the brave men who have been struggling with the enemy in the field, to their noble commanders who have directed them, and especially to our Maker."[49]

And in response to another serenade on that memorable 9th of May, 1864, Mr. Lincoln said: "While we are grateful to all the brave men and officers for the events of the past few days, we should above all, be very grateful to Almighty God who gives us the victory."[50]

When the news of the downfall of the Confederate Capital reached Mr. Lincoln, on board the Malvern, he exclaimed: "Thank God that I have lived to see this! It seems to me I have been dreaming a horrid dream for four years, and now the nightmare is gone. I want to see Richmond."[51]

In his last public address, April 11th, 1865, in the following language which was characteristic of all his public life, the great ruler said: "We meet this evening not in sorrow, but in gladness of heart. The evacuation of Petersburg and Richmond, and the surrender of the principal insurgent army, give hope for a righteous and speedy peace, whose joyous expression cannot be restrained. In the midst of this, however, He from whom all blessings flow must not be forgotten."[52]

When told of the worshipful regard in which he was held by the former slaves, with tearful solemnity President Lincoln said: "If I have been one of the instruments in liberating this long suffering, down-trodden people, I thank God for it."

Of a similar character was his statement to Colonel McKaye of New York and Robert Dale Owen, when they told Mr. Lincoln that a white-haired former slave had said to his comrades: "Brederin, you don't know nosen' what you'se talkin' 'bout. Now, you just listen to me. Massa Linkum,

[49] Complete Works of Abraham Lincoln, Vol. X., p. 95.
[51] Francis F. Browne, Everyday Life of Lincoln, p. 568.
[52] Complete Works of Abraham Lincoln, Vol. XI., p. 84.

he eberywhar. He knows eberyting." Then, solemnly looking up, he added—"He walk de earf like de Lord!"[53]

Mr. Carpenter, the artist, tells us "that Mr. Lincoln seemed much affected by this account. He did not smile, as another man might have done, but got up from his chair, and walked in silence two or three times across the floor. As he resumed his seat, he said, very impressively: "It is a momentous thing to be the instrument, under Providence, of the liberation of a race."[54]

Thankful for Re-election

Properly to appreciate Mr. Lincoln's gratitude for his re-election in 1864, it should be remembered that on August 23rd of that year he wrote his memorable statement expressing the conviction that the election in the coming November would be adverse to his administration. As elsewhere stated in this volume, there was such a tremendous popular demand for a cessation of hostilities throughout the loyal states that the election undoubtedly would have resulted in Mr. Lincoln's defeat if the claim of the opposition that the South was ready to return to the Union had not been shown to be false by the declaration of Jefferson Davis that nothing short of independence would be accepted by the South. This declaration of the Confederate leader made public, and widely distributed throughout the loyal states just previous to the election undoubtedly gave Mr. Lincoln the meager majority of the popular vote which resulted in an overwhelming majority in the electoral college. Having passed through that strenuous campaign in which he was unjustly opposed and cruelly vilified by leaders of his own party, and having been wrought up to the conviction which caused his serious and settled apprehension of defeat, Mr. Lincoln's gratitude for re-election found expression in some of the most beautiful utterances of his life.

On the evening of November 9th, 1864, in response to

[53] Six Months in the White House, p. 209. [54] Ibid., p. 209.

a serenade of congratulation upon his re-election, with characteristic modesty and heartfelt appreciation he said: "I am thankful to God for this approval of the people; but while deeply grateful for this mark of their confidence in me, if I know my heart, my gratitude is free from any taint of personal triumph. I do not impugn the motives of any one opposed to me. It is no pleasure to me to triumph over any one, but I give thanks to the Almighty for this evidence of the people's resolution to stand by free government and the rights of humanity."[55]

On the next evening, November 10th, 1864, upon a like occasion, he expressed his recognition of the hand of God in his re-election as follows: "While I am deeply sensible to the high compliment of a re-election, and deeply grateful, as I trust, to Almighty God, for having directed my countrymen to a right conclusion, as I think, for their own good, it adds nothing to my satisfaction that any other man may be disappointed or pained by the result."[56]

According to the provisions of the constitution, the verdict of the people at the polls was officially canvassed by a joint convention of the two houses of Congress on the 9th of February, 1865. At that time in response to the notification by a committee of Congress of the result of the electoral vote, Mr. Lincoln said: "With deep gratitude to my countrymen for this mark of their confidence . . . and above all with an unshaken faith in the Supreme Ruler of nations, I accept this trust."[57]

Prepared for Death

That the work of divine grace in a trusting, obedient soul, includes preparation for death and for the future life was accepted by Mr. Lincoln as unquestionably true. He regarded such a work as of priceless value, and therefore, on February

[55] Complete Works of Abraham Lincoln, Vol. X., p. 262.
[56] Ibid., pp. 264-265.
[57] Ibid., Vol. XI., p. 10.

3rd, 1842, he wrote to his friend, Joshua F. Speed, whose wife at the time was seriously ill, stating that if she should be called away by death it would be "a great consolation to know that she is so well prepared to meet it."[58]

At the time Mr. Lincoln thus expressed his high estimate of a conscious preparation for death, and of a religious experience in making that preparation, he was in the prime of his young manhood, only thirty-three years of age, and was writing to his close friend for the purpose of contributing in largest possible measure to that friend's consolation in the sorrow of apprehended bereavement.

In a letter written in January, 1851, he reminded his dying father of the assurances of divine compassion and of the future life which are adapted to minister consolation in such an hour.

With the realization of human need of a preparation for death which is clearly indicated, Mr. Lincoln, on the 22nd day of February, 1861, while on his way to Washington to assume the duties of the Presidency, in a speech at Independence Hall, Philadelphia, among other things stated: "I have said nothing but what I am willing to live by, and if it be the pleasure of Almighty God, to die by."[59]

At another time he remarked: "I do not consider that I have ever accomplished anything without God, and if it be His will that I must die by the hand of an assassin, I must be resigned. I must do my duty as I see it and leave the rest with God."[60]

During his administration as President, in speaking of well known plots against his life, he said: "But I see no other safeguard against these murderers, but to be always ready to die, as Christ advises it."[61]

At a time of high exhilaration, in contemplation of duty

[58] Complete Works of Abraham Lincoln, Vol. I., p. 186.
[59] Ibid., Vol. VI., p. 158.
[60] H. C. Whitney, Life on the Circuit with Lincoln, p. 278.
[61] Fifty Years in the Church of Rome, pp. 706-711.

and danger, Mr. Lincoln stated: "I am in God's hands; let Him do with me what seemeth good to Him."[62]

In the words of no earthly ruler known to history is there found more of potential pathos than the following: "Now I see the end of this terrible conflict, with the same joy of Moses, when at the end of his trying forty years in the wilderness; and I pray my God to grant me to see the days of peace and untold prosperity, which will follow this cruel war, as Moses asked God to see the other side of Jordan, and enter the promised land. But, do you know, that I hear in my soul, as the voice of God, giving me the rebuke which was given to Moses?

"Yes, every time that my soul goes to God to ask the favor of seeing the other side of the Jordan, and eating the fruits of that peace, after which I am longing with such an unspeakable desire, do you know that there is a still but solemn voice which tells me that I will see those things only from a long distance, and that I will be among the dead when the nation, which God granted me to lead through those awful trials, will cross the Jordan, and dwell in that land of promise."[63]

In connection with the above statements to Father Chiniquy, Mr. Lincoln expressed his conviction that he would be the victim of assassination, and added:

"So many plots already have been made against my life that it is really a miracle that they have all failed." This Mr. Lincoln considered the more remarkable because, as he at that time said and as the world now knows, those plots "were in the hands of skilled murderers evidently trained" by his implacable enemies. "But," he said, "can we expect that God will make a perpetual miracle to save my life? I believe not." And with deep feeling he added: "I hope and pray that He will hear no murmur from me when I fall for my nation's sake." Those solemn words were spoken when Mr. Lincoln

[62] W. M. Thayer, From Pioneer Home to White House, p. 352.
[63] Fifty Years in the Church of Rome, pp. 706-711.

knew the dogs of death were on his track, eager to overtake him. No man ever occupied the Presidential office so beset and pursued by dangers as he was. And the apprehension of the ultimate success of the plots against his life did not arise wholly from his knowledge of the murderous hatred of some who, at that time, were seeking to overthrow the nation.

Mr. Lincoln fully understood, as the world has since learned, that bitter enmities had been aroused against him by certain features of his law practice in Illinois, and that those enmities had grown more bitter, vindictive and unscrupulous with the progress of time. The way from Springfield to Washington was thickly set with perils which he avoided only by constant vigilance and heroic action. Malignant enemies gnashed their teeth in rage when, by an unexpected midnight dash, he reached the capital city notwithstanding their infamous purposes and plots to terminate his life at Baltimore.

And Mr. Lincoln was fully cognizant of the fact that his first inauguration was successfully conducted because the most skillful and ample preparation had been made to protect him from assassination at that time. The world did not then know, but Mr. Lincoln did, that all the space where enemies might seek to conceal bombs, in the basement of the Capitol and in other places of the building, was guarded by men thoroughly organized and armed to guard him and effectually to crush the incipient rebellion some enemies of the nation had planned to start during the inaugural ceremonies.

Mr. Lincoln further knew that the shot, which on a dark night sent a bullet through his hat, just above his head, as he was riding alone to the Soldiers' Home, was fired by an enemy who was seeking his life.* He knew that his personal enemies had joined forces with the enemies of his country, and were untiring in efforts to kill him, and he was appre-

* See p. 532.

hensive they would accomplish their purpose. Yet, in spite of all this he solemnly declared himself to be always prepared for death, which certainly implied that he was a Christian.

Claimed Christian Privileges

The self-depreciation which for years caused Mr. Lincoln to refrain from claiming that he was a Christian did not prevent him from exercising the Christian's sacred privilege of prayer. During all of his Presidency, according to his own statements, he was a daily visitant at the Mercy-seat where the sweet incense of his prayers ascended to the throne of God. He tells us that sometimes his daily prayer would consist of not more than ten words "but those words were always uttered." That daily communion led to special seasons of fervent intercession at crisis periods, when he wrought mightily in prayer with God for the nation, as did Moses for ancient Israel, even to the extent of remonstrating with Jehovah on behalf of his own cause when He seemed inclined to turn from His chosen people. Moses was on such terms with God that he ventured to interpose for the safeguarding of His honor and renown.[64] Jeremiah was so devoted to the Lord that he boldly said: "Do not disgrace the throne of Thy glory,"[65] and Abraham Lincoln was not less jealous for God's honor when during the progress of the battle of Gettysburg, he told the Lord that the nation's cause "was His cause."

Such loving loyalty to God and such zeal in interceding for His cause, and in safeguarding His honor are indicative of a high state of grace. And the "solemn vow" which Mr. Lincoln made on that memorable occasion, embraced all that is included in full Christian consecration, and was sealed by his declaration, "And He did stand by you boys, and I *will* stand by Him." That agonizing intercession and that sacred covenant with God were followed, as he tells us, by "a sweet peace" which gave assurance to his satisfaction that

[64] Num. 13: 14-19. [65] Jer. 14: 21.

his prayer was answered, and bears witness to all the attentive world that he was on terms of intimate fellowship with the Almighty.

It is natural for the human heart to cry out to God for help at times of sore distress and need, but a consciousness of access to a throne of grace and a satisfying assurance of acceptance, such as Mr. Lincoln had, are the privileges of none but those who are children of God by faith in Jesus Christ.

The strongest and indeed the conclusive evidence that Abraham Lincoln was a Christian was his

Christian Character and Life

Attorney General Bates, while a member of his Cabinet, said: "Mr. Lincoln comes very near being a perfect man."

Secretary Seward declared Mr. Lincoln to be the best man he had ever known.

F. B. Carpenter, the artist, declared that Mr. Lincoln's conversation was always absolutely pure and proper.

Dr. Stone, his family physician, said: "I affirm that Mr. Lincoln is the purest hearted man with whom I ever came in contact."

Father Chiniquy said: "I found him the most perfect type of Christian I ever met."

"His public life was a continuous service of God and his fellowmen controlled and guided by the Golden Rule," was the declaration of Hon. L. E. Chittenden.

Dr. J. G. Holland says: "Moderate, frank, truthful, gentle, forgiving, loving, just, Mr. Lincoln will always be remembered as eminently a Christian President."

Hon. J. D. Long declared that "no act of his life was ever counted in derogation of the integrity of his life and example."

Sir Edward Mallet was proud to say "he left upon me the impression of a sterling son of God."

The *Monitor*, a Catholic organ published at San Francisco,

speaks of "his pre-eminently Christian character" and declares that he was "at all times a sincere and consistent follower of the gentle Nazarene, and first and foremost a Christian man."

"His spirit was that of one who communed with the Most High," said the distinguished statesman and author, Hon. Wm. H. Smith.

None knew Mr. Lincoln more intimately than did Judge Henry C. Whitney, who says: "More than any other man in modern life he completely fulfilled the requirement and justified the asseveration that 'Pure religion and undefiled before God and the Father is this, to visit the fatherless and widow in their affliction and to keep himself unspotted from the world."

Major J. B. Merwin, who was closely associated with Mr. Lincoln for many years, says: "He came to be one of the most profoundly Christian men I ever knew."

Former President Roosevelt says: "If ever there was a man who practically applied what is taught in our churches it was Abraham Lincoln."

John Lothrop Motley says: "Never was such vast political power placed in purer hands; never did a heart remain more humble and unsophisticated after the highest prizes of earthly ambition had been attained."

This testimony to Mr. Lincoln's Christian character and life, which might be indefinitely enlarged, is fittingly closed by the declaration of Hon. John Hay, one of his private secretaries, that Abraham Lincoln was "one of the most devoted and faithful servants of Almighty God who ever sat in the highest places of the world. He was the greatest man since Christ."

Home and Family Life

In his home life, Abraham Lincoln gave strong evidence of his high-toned, Christian character. Never was there a more loyal and loving husband, or a more devoted father than he. His ardent attachment to his wife is mentioned at

PRESIDENT LINCOLN AND FAMILY

From the painting by F. B. Carpenter.

length elsewhere in this volume. The following statement by the Hon. W. D. Kelley of Pennsylvania, gives an added touch to the faithful representation of a home and family scene in the famous picture of "Tad" and his father, referred to below:

"His intercourse with his family was beautiful as that with his friends. I think that father never loved his children more fondly than he. The President never seemed grander in my sight than when, stealing upon him in the evening, I would find him with a book open before him, as he is represented in the popular photograph, with little 'Tad' beside him. There were of course a great many curious books sent to him, and it seemed to be one of the special delights of his life to open those books at such an hour, that his boy could stand beside him, and they could talk as he turned over the pages, the father thus giving to the son a portion of that care and attention of which he was ordinarily deprived by the duties of office pressing upon him."[66]

As indicating that this fellowship between Mr. Lincoln and his little son extended also to the perusal of the pages of the Scripture and was of frequent occurrence, the following is significant: "Captain Mix, being for a time in charge of President Lincoln's bodyguard, was upon terms of very close intimacy with the President. He saw him when others did not, and he saw him many times as he was not seen by others. So close were his relations with the President and his family that the Captain often took breakfast with them at their summer residence at the Soldiers' Home. This fact, and the high character of Captain Mix, give peculiar force to the following statement by him: 'Many times have I listened to our most eloquent preachers, but never with the same feeling of awe and reverence as when our Christian President, with his arm around his son, with his deep, earnest tone, each morning read a chapter from the Bible.' " [67]

Mrs. Pomeroy, as nurse, ministered to the afflicted mem-

[66] Six Months in the White House, pp. 92-93.
[67] Ibid., p. 261.

bers of the President's family for several months and the great depth to which Mr. Lincoln was moved by his affection for the members of his family, and by the bereavement through which he passed, is indicated by the following:

"On arriving at the Executive Mansion, Miss Dix conducted her into the green room, where the lifeless remains of Willie had just been laid out. Thence, she was taken to Mrs. Lincoln's chamber, where she was lying quite sick. From Mrs. Lincoln's room she was led into an adjoining one where little 'Tad' lay in a dying condition. The physicians had relinquished all hope of his recovery and he was not expected to live twenty-four hours. Mr. Lincoln was sitting by him, 'the very picture of despair.' 'Mrs. Pomeroy, Mr. President,' said Miss Dix. Mr. Lincoln arose, and very heartily shook her hand, saying: 'I am glad to see you; I have heard of you. You have come to a sad house.' His deep emotion choked further utterance and the tears streamed down his careworn cheeks."[68]

"Several weeks after the death of Willie, Mr. Lincoln, with several members of his Cabinet, spent a few days at Fortress Monroe, watching military operations upon the Peninsula. He improved his spare time there in reading Shakespeare. One day he was reading 'Hamlet' when he called to his private secretary: 'Come here, Colonel; I want to read you a passage.' The Colonel responded, when the President read the discussion on ambition between Hamlet and his courtiers, and the soliloquy in which conscience debates about a future state. Then he read passages from 'Macbeth,' and finally opened to the third act of 'King John,' where Constance bewails her lost boy. Closing the book, and recalling the words:

" 'And, father cardinal, I have heard you say
That we shall see and know our friends in heaven;
If that be true I shall see my boy again,'

[68] William M. Thayer, From Pioneer Home to White House, p. 346.

Mr. Lincoln said: 'Colonel, did you ever dream of a lost friend, and feel that you were holding sweet communion with that friend, and yet have a sad consciousness that it was not reality?—just so I dream of my boy Willie.' Overcome with emotion, he dropped his head on the table and sobbed aloud.

"Beautiful example of paternal love in the highest place of the land! The million of fathers over whom he ruled found in him a worthy father to imitate."[69]

Few children ever more deeply interested mankind than did dear little "Tad," President Lincoln's youngest son. After the death of Willie the little fellow crept into his father's life in a marvelous measure. Tearfully touching is the story told of the nights when the careworn and weary ruler, while seeking the rest he sorely needed, would hear a familiar tap upon his chamber door and answering would find his darling boy waiting outside to feel his father's loving embraces and to cuddle up to him in bed where he would remain until morning. Such incidents were common during those months in the White House, and none but those with a flinty heart can read with tearless eyes the following by F. B. Carpenter:

"Little 'Tad's' frantic grief upon being told that his father had been shot was alluded to in the Washington correspondence of the time. For twenty-four hours the little fellow was perfectly inconsolable. Sunday morning, however, the sun rose in unclouded splendor, and in his simplicity he looked upon this as a token that his father was happy. 'Do you think my father has gone to heaven?' he asked of a gentleman who had called upon Mrs. Lincoln. 'I have not a doubt of it,' was the reply. 'Then,' he exclaimed, in his broken way, 'I am glad he has gone there, for he never was happy after he came here. This was not a good place for him!'"[70]

[69] William M. Thayer, From Pioneer Home to White House, pp. 356-357.
[70] Six Months in the White House, p. 293.

Why not a Church Member

"Blessed be God who in this our great trial giveth us the Churches." This very expressive utterance, made in response to the greetings of a company of ministers, indicates Mr. Lincoln's ardent affection for the Christian church in all its branches, and his high appreciation of its influence for good. There are many similar declarations by Mr. Lincoln of the same import and equally clear and emphatic. And yet ardent as was his attachment to the church, unequivocal as was his belief in its divine origin, faithful as was his attendance upon its services, liberal as were his contributions to its work, and steadfast as was his purpose to live in accordance with its requirements and teachings, Mr. Lincoln never became a church member. There were two things either one of which was in itself sufficient to prevent him from uniting with the Church. The first was

Lengthy and Objectionable Creeds.

Respecting this Hon. H. C. Deming says: "I am here reminded of an impressive remark which he made to me and which I shall never forget. He said he had never united himself to any church because he found difficulty in giving his assent without mental reservation to the long, complicated statement of Christian doctrine which characterized their articles of belief and confessions of faith. 'When any church, he said, will inscribe over its altar as its sole qualification for membership the Saviour's condensed statement of the substance of both law and gospel, 'Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart and with all thy soul and with all thy mind, and thy neighbor as thyself,' that church will I join with all my heart and with all my soul."[71]

To his pastor, Dr. P. D. Gurley, and to others, Mr. Lin-

[71] Henry Champion Deming, Eulogy on Lincoln, before the General Assembly, Hartford, Conn., June 8th, 1865.

coln made declarations identical in significance and almost identical in language. In the Deming interview he does not express any objection to the doctrines of the church, but to what he designates "the long, complicated statements" of those doctrines. His own declarations, already quoted, prove conclusively that he was a firm believer in all the essential doctrines of Christianity; but he could not accept those doctrines as stated in church symbols. In this he was doubtless in harmony with a large and growing sentiment in the church, as is shown by the great labor which during recent years it has bestowed upon the work of changing the statements of its doctrines so as to remove all needlessly objectionable features. And the great progress made in this revision of church symbols, since the foregoing statements were made by Mr. Lincoln, fully justifies his objection to the manner in which Christian doctrines at that time were stated. His course in this matter was characteristic of his prevailing attitude and shows the unusual extent to which he was governed by his conscientious regard for absolute truthfulness. He knew that the "sole qualification for membership" in the Presbyterian Church, which he regularly attended, was trusting obedience to Christ, but in his estimation such membership included an acceptance of all the doctrinal declarations of the church symbols, and he was unwilling to appear as approving even with "mental reservation" doctrinal statements which he did not fully accept. He did without scruple take an oath to support the Constitution of the United States, which permitted and protected slavery, but he regarded the covenant of church membership as too peculiarly sacred to be taken without full and unqualified approval of all the doctrines held and taught by that organization.

Mr. Lincoln's declaration of his willingness, with all his heart and soul, to unite with a church having no condition of membership but supreme love for God and for mankind, indicates his high estimate of Christian living. That his standard is higher than are the conditions of membership in any church,

and is far above the possibility of human compliance, does not to any extent weaken the force of his belief that it should be the aim and effort of every Christian to attain unto that standard, and that nothing more or less than that should be required for membership in the church. This candid explanation by Mr. Lincoln of the reason why he never became a church member is an eloquent plea for greater brevity and simplicity in church symbols. Church creeds usually have been formulated at times of strife, and in the white heat of controversy. In many cases they have proved a barrier to church membership as they did to Mr. Lincoln even after his faith, experience, and life had given assurance that he was a Christian. We shall lose one of the most important lessons of his life if we fail duly to consider its bearings upon this question.

Quite as potential as were lengthy and objectionable creeds in keeping Mr. Lincoln from becoming a church member was

Church Tolerance of Slavery.

"If slavery is not wrong, nothing is wrong. I cannot remember when I did not so think and feel." This declaration of Mr. Lincoln, made in 1864, and already cited, expresses his lifelong convictions and feelings toward slavery.

On the 1st of July, 1854, he carefully wrote two "Fragments" in which he expressed his convictions concerning that institution. In one of these, he characterized slavery as "the great durable curse of the race," by which labor is made "the double-refined curse of God upon His creatures."[72]

His constant claim that slavery should be abolished "wherever our votes can legally reach it" was based upon his conviction that slavery was morally wrong. So deep was his realization of its evil character, and so dominant in his soul was the conviction that it should be unyieldingly opposed that at the seeming sacrifice of every personal ambition he

[72] Complete Works of Abraham Lincoln, Vol. II., p. 185.

fought it with religious vehemence and determination. In view of the extent to which slavery was entrenched and the strength and determination with which it was and would be defended, he exclaimed: "The problem is too mighty for me —may God in His mercy superintend the solution." [73]

This impassioned appeal to God shows conclusively that Mr. Lincoln's opposition to slavery was prompted by the highest Christian motives. Believing, as he did, that slavery was inherently wrong he appealed to the Almighty for aid and direction in opposing and resisting it. And he naturally and rightfully looked to the church and to Christians for sympathy and co-operation in his warfare against that wrong.

But instead of finding the sympathy and aid which he believed he should receive from the church and from Christian people, he found the church in all the slave-holding states filled and ruled by slave holders, and in the free states having a large and influential pro-slavery membership. During the early years here referred to churches had not divided on the slavery question as they did later, but maintained organic unity throughout the nation. In all the slave states slave holders were in absolute control of the church, and did not permit any church influence in opposition to slavery. No word against slavery was permitted in any pulpit of the South, and, as Mr. Lincoln said in 1860, "the very teachers of religion have come to defend it from the Bible and to claim for it a divine character and sanction." [74]

No antislavery articles appeared in any church paper published in the slave states and no deliverance of the church councils, conferences, or assemblies in those states contained any declaration unfriendly to slavery. In the free states the pro-slavery element in the principal churches was strong and aggressive and excluded antislavery teachings from the pulpit and from church organs and deliverances. It was declared to be "preaching politics" for ministers to speak against

[73] Complete Works of Abraham Lincoln, Vol. II., p. 280.
[74] Holland's Abraham Lincoln, p. 238.

slavery in their sermons, and that was forbidden and effectively prohibited. The exclusion of slave holders from church membership by some of the smaller churches, and the antislavery views of some people in other churches, in Mr. Lincoln's opinion, accentuated the enormity of church tolerance of slavery.

A still stronger influence in making conspicuous the pro-slavery attitude of the church was the open espousal of the antislavery cause by people not connected with the evangelical churches. The great abolitionists, Garrison and Phillips, with their less distinguished associates, were not church people, and their courage and fervor in denouncing and resisting slavery caused the attitude of the church to that institution to appear very objectionable to Mr. Lincoln. There was, as he believed and said, a "moral aspect" to the slavery question which made imperative the duty of the church and of its entire membership to oppose it. Politically he could and did submit to the continuance of slavery in the states where it existed, for it was there under the protection of the national Constitution, for which he had the most profound reverence; but religiously he could not regard slavery otherwise than with unqualified disapproval. While he believed the government was solemnly bound by the Constitution to protect slavery where it then existed, he also believed that the church was more solemnly bound by the requirements of Christianity to protest against it as inherently wrong and to seek its destruction. Therefore, the pro-slavery attitude of the church and of many Christian people was so at variance with Mr. Lincoln's convictions as to be to him an insuperable obstacle to church membership. He regarded the sacred covenants of church membership as including an approval of the attitude of the church to slavery, and that approval his absolute truthfulness made it impossible for him to give. His course in this matter was like that of vast numbers of other high-minded antislavery people. Thousands of Christian people withdrew from the church because of its attitude to slavery; and for

the same reason multitudes refused to become church members. Many brilliant preachers renounced their ministerial standing and went from the pulpit to the platform that they might with unrestrained freedom denounce slavery, and the pro-slavery attitude of the church. An antislavery pamphlet bore the title, "The Brotherhood of Thieves," as a designation of the connivance of church people with slavery, and the land was flooded with literature of a similar character. This extreme hostility to the church because of its attitude to slavery, was never shared by Mr. Lincoln; but his protest against the attitude of the church toward slavery was effectively though silently registered in the profoundly significant absence of his name from the roll of church communicants.

It was characteristic of Mr. Lincoln to remain silent relative to these matters, but there came a time when his long-suppressed feelings found expression in a manner which could not be misunderstood. He had long and patiently fought against the cohorts of slavery without one word of complaint because many church people were arrayed against him, but when he first learned that of the twenty-three pastors of his home city, only three were supporting him as a candidate for President, he was filled with amazement and grief, which found expression in language more vehement than he is known to have employed at any other time, and in actions more expressive of agitation than were exhibited by him upon any other occasion during his life. This was at the historic Bateman interview, a full account of which appears elsewhere in this work. During that interview, as Dr. Holland tells us, Mr. Lincoln "arose and walked up and down the room in the effort to retain or regain his self-possession," and when he spoke it was "with a trembling voice and cheeks wet with tears." "Here," said he, "are twenty-three ministers of different denominations and all of them are against me but three, and here are a great many prominent members of the churches, a very large majority of whom are against me. . . . These men well know that I am for freedom . . . and that my

opponents are for slavery . . . and yet with this Book (the New Testament) in their hands in the light of which human bondage cannot live a moment, they are going to vote against me. I do not understand it at all." [75]

Dr. Holland adds: "Everything he said was of a peculiarly deep, tender and religious tone and all was tinged with a touching melancholy."[76]

Mr. Lincoln's great agitation during this interview was a revelation to Dr. Bateman. He had never before seen him so disturbed and grieved. He was usually calm and serene and never was he so manifestly perturbed as upon this occasion. It was late in October, 1860, only a few days before his first election as President, and the outlook at that time was assuring. The "October States," as they were then called, Pennsylvania, Ohio and others—had held elections for state officers giving large republican majorities which indicated that Mr. Lincoln's selection in November was certain. There was, therefore, every reason for his being in a state of exhilaration concerning his own aspirations and prospects, and the success of the cause he was seeking to promote. He was not in the least disturbed by the knowledge that some of his neighbors, though devoted personal friends, were adherents of the opposing party and would therefore vote against him. But the opposition of the church, as represented by its pastors and leading members, was unspeakably painful and disturbing to him. As far as known he had never before expressed or intimated a thought that he had a special and valid claim upon the support of church people. As a Whig he stood for issues which had no moral or religious features, but when the slavery question became a political issue he believed the Christian people as a unit should be on the side of freedom. As Dr. Holland says: "Of one thing Mr. Lincoln felt sure that in the great struggle before him he ought to be supported by the Christian sentiment and the Christian influence of the nation. Nothing pained him more than the thought that

[75] Holland's Life of Abraham Lincoln, p. 237. [76] Ibid., p. 238.

a man professing the religion of Jesus Christ, and especially a man who taught the religion of Jesus Christ, should be opposed to him. He felt that every religious man—every man who believed in God, in the principles of everlasting justice, in truth and righteousness—should be opposed to slavery, and should support and assist him in the struggle against inhumanity and oppression which he felt to be imminent. It was to him a great mystery how those who preached the gospel to the poor, and who, by their divine Master, were sent to heal the broken-hearted, to preach deliverance to the captives and to set at liberty those that were bruised, could be his opponents, and enemies." [77]

Nor was Mr. Lincoln's agitation at the Bateman interview when he learned that the recognized representatives of the church were against him, caused by any feelings of wounded personal pride, but by the disappointment of his confident expectations respecting the fidelity of Christian people to their sacred trust. So exalted were his conceptions of the character and mission of the church that when he found it in what he regarded as manifest apostasy, his heart was sorely troubled. He loved the church as God's agency in the world to safeguard human rights and to promote human welfare, and his soul cried out in anguish in view of its unfaithfulness.

To this was added his painful apprehension that the pro-slavery attitude of pastors and their people would bring upon the nation the swift and severe judgments of the Almighty. It was this apprehension which wrung from his aching heart the prophetic exclamation, "Now the cup of iniquity is full and the vials of wrath will be poured out."

That conditions in the church at that crisis period were such as to cause Mr. Lincoln bitter disappointment and grief, must be to every follower of Christ an occasion for humiliation and regret. And in the scenes connected with the Bateman interview, and in the absence of Mr. Lincoln's name from the enrollment of the members of the church, is a very

[77] Life of Abraham Lincoln, pp. 235-236.

solemn admonition to the church ever and boldly to maintain its divinely appointed attitude to the cause of righteousness among the children of men. How many Christian people of great worth have been kept out of the church by the unfaithfulness of God's people to questions and movements of moral and civic reform!

However, after the first assault upon the flag at Fort Sumter there was no longer occasion for humiliation on account of the condition and attitude of the church in the loyal states. Treason unmasked slavery and revealed it in its true character, and the antislavery membership of the churches in the North at once rose to dominance, and pro-slavery influences disappeared. Enthusiastic religious patriotism characterized all the services of the church, and from pulpit and pew brave Christian men promptly responded to the call for troops.

Slavery and rebellion at once became identical in public thought and the church responded magnificently to the requirements of the occasion. Many times during his administration President Lincoln expressed his appreciation of the church and his gratification at the services it rendered the government.

The convictions, however, expressed by Mr. Lincoln to Dr. Bateman concerning the rightful attitude of Christianity and of Christian people to questions of practical morality and righteousness were never by him either retracted or in the least degree modified. On May 30th, 1864, in a letter to Senator James R. Doolittle and others, Mr. Lincoln expressed himself upon this subject with great frankness and force. And in his opinion one of the most objectionable features of the rebellion was the claim that it was prompted by Christian motives.

On the 3rd of December, 1864, in an interview with two Southern women, he spoke with unusual severity upon this subject, and so desirous was he that his views, as then expressed, should be widely known that with his own hand he carefully prepared an account of the incident which he read

to Noah Brooks, who, at the President's request, secured its publication in the Washington *Chronicle* precisely as it was written by Mr. Lincoln. It was entitled, "The President's Latest, Shortest and Best Speech," and was as follows:

"On Thursday of last week, two ladies from Tennessee came before the President, asking the release of their husbands held as prisoners of war at Johnson's Island. They were put off until Friday, when they came again, and were again put off until Saturday. At each of the interviews one of the ladies urged that her husband was a religious man, and on Saturday the President ordered the release of the prisoners, when he said to this lady: 'You say your husband is a religious man; tell him when you meet him, that I say I am not much of a judge of religion, but that, in my opinion, the religion that sets men to rebel and fight against their government, because, as they think, that government does not sufficiently help some men to eat their bread in the sweat of other men's faces, is not the sort of religion upon which people can get to heaven.' " [78]

In his account of this affair Mr. Brooks says: "Mr. Lincoln showed a surprising amount of gratification over this trifle and set his signature at the bottom of the page of the manuscript at my suggestion, in order to authenticate the autograph." [79]

The account of the affair as written and signed by Mr. Lincoln was reproduced in exact facsimile in the above-mentioned magazine, which removes all possible doubt of its authenticity.

The claim that slavery and the Rebellion were sanctioned by the Christian religion was referred to by President Lincoln in his second Inaugural Address with that delicate charity which pervaded that sublime production, and yet in terms which make it impossible to doubt his severe displeasure at the reproach upon Christianity implied in that claim. The

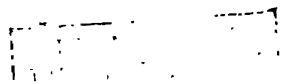
[78] Complete Works of Abraham Lincoln, Vol. X., pp. 279-280.
[79] *Scribner's Magazine*, February, 1878, p. 566.

ardent affection which Mr. Lincoln had ever cherished for the church was greatly intensified and strengthened by the loyal Christian patriotism which during the war pervaded the church, and of the religious heroism displayed by church people at the front and in all loyal states.

Intended to Unite with the Church

And during the latter part of "his weary and chastened life," he repeatedly expressed his purpose, "at the first suitable opportunity, to make a profession of religion," by uniting with the church. The assassin's bullet, however, intervened and that purpose was not carried out, but, although his name was never entered upon any roll of membership of the visible church on earth, who can doubt that his name was recorded in "the Lamb's Book of Life"?

HORACE GREELEY



VI

LINCOLN AND HORACE GREELEY

A HITHERTO UNCOMPLETED CHAPTER OF AMERICAN HISTORY

WHEN I was a child, my heart many times was deeply moved by heated discussions at our frontier Ohio home between my father and callers who approved and attempted to defend American slavery. I say "attempted to defend," for to me it seemed only a feeble effort upon their part, as we sat by the crackling fire, for my father—whom I adored—was a master in argument and he never was so vehement and irresistible as when denouncing slavery. And during the long winter evenings, as I listened to those backwoods debates, the emotions which swept over my youthful soul were like surging billows that dash upon a stormy ocean beach.

A few years later, while I was only a lad, for one silver dollar I sold to a neighbor some choice young fruit trees, which it had required more than three years of care and labor to produce. That silver dollar was larger in my eyes than was the "big, round moon." But far greater than the joy and pride of being the rightful owner of such wealth was my delight at being permitted to invest that dollar in a year's subscription to the New York *Weekly Tribune*. And during the year that followed, whenever the exacting duties of a toiling farmer boy would permit, I feasted mind and soul upon the literary pabulum which filled the columns of that great antislavery oracle, chiefly from the pen of Horace Greeley, the most gifted and influential journalist of his day.

Thus early I learned to revere the name of Horace Greeley and unconsciously to imbibe the spirit with which he de-

nounced human slavery and assailed the propagandists of that institution. The *Tribune* was the Bible, and Horace Greeley the prophet of the abolition movement. And what was true of me was true of the multitudes throughout the nation who were constant readers of the *Tribune* and who were becoming more and more antagonistic to the institution of slavery. By his matchless force of intellect, and the authority of truth, he held undisputed sway over the hosts that gathered to his standard. Many were led by their hostility to slavery into a spirit and attitude of hostility to the Constitution, and the government which gave that institution protection. Only a limited number, however, of the antislavery people were borne to such extremes. Those who were more conservative, sought with diligence for some method by which their disapproval of slavery could be made effective in accordance with the provisions of the national Constitution. The movements of those antislavery forces were like the mobilizing of a great army, and the leader of leaders in those movements was Horace Greeley. His masterful editorials in the *Tribune* were like the bugle blasts from a great commander calling the hosts to battle.

In their efforts to obey those calls to duty the people rallied around divers standards. In the midst of political chaos the standard of slavery restriction was lifted up and, as by magic, the republican party came into being, standing upon a platform of but one distinctive plank—the prohibition of the extension of slavery into the Federal Territories.

To an alert, enthusiastic lad those early movements were of thrilling interest, and not less inspiring was the later crystallization of that young party into effective cohesion. In the vicinity where my lot was cast, not one phase of this movement escaped my attention; and in 1856 a tall tamarack flagpole stood in front of our house, holding aloft our starry banner to bear witness to my interest in the efforts for the election to the Presidency of Colonel John C. Fremont, the gallant young "Path Finder" of California. The nomination

of Fremont was very largely the result of the efforts of Horace Greeley, who never tired of sounding the praises of his chosen hero. Not less industrious and effective was Mr. Greeley in work which lay between the unsuccessful Fremont campaign in 1856 and the election of Abraham Lincoln in 1860.

It would be natural to suppose that after these many years of heroic struggle to secure the election of an antislavery President, Mr. Greeley would ever be found in loyal support of the administration, to the election of which he had been so large a contributor. But the history of the administration of Abraham Lincoln never will be fully written until the story of the strange and unfortunate course pursued by Horace Greeley toward him is told with greater fullness than it yet has been given to the world. In giving that story, I wish to bear witness even more fully than yet I have done, to my great admiration for Horace Greeley and to my loyalty to his leadership.

In the early stages of his administration I was not partial to Abraham Lincoln. His nomination as the republican candidate for President was my first great and grievous political disappointment. My ideal of an all-around American statesman and leader was the Hon. Salmon P. Chase, the idol of the antislavery forces and Governor of my native Ohio. The tremendous personality of Governor Chase, his heroic proportions, his majestic bearing, immense intellectual force, and sterling integrity were well calculated to win for him the admiration and loyalty which it was my delight to contribute in unstinted measure. When I saw him on the platform I was thrilled by his magnificent measurements, his wonderful voice and his words of rare wisdom; and knowing as I did his great ability, it seemed to me that he was chosen of God to be the nation's standard-bearer. And I was heartbroken when I first learned that Abraham Lincoln, of whom we then knew so little, had been chosen as our candidate for President; and although I supported Mr. Lincoln with hearty en-

thusiasm, making more than one hundred speeches for his election, I was not quite satisfied with his conservative policy respecting slavery during the early months of his administration. Therefore, I was prepared to judge of the infelicities between the President and the great journalist without partiality for Mr. Lincoln or prejudice against Mr. Greeley. These infelicities should be known and remembered by the American people that better counsels may prevail during the future of our history.

Why should there have been infelicities between two such men as Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States, and Horace Greeley, leading journalist of the nation? Each had been a poor boy toiling for his daily bread, and with meager advantages for development. Each espoused the cause of the Whig party when he came to man's estate. Each was a man of great generosity of nature. Each was constitutionally, and in sentiment, thoroughly opposed to slavery. Each held the other in high esteem. They had been associated for a brief period in Congress in 1848, and Mr. Greeley had recorded his high regard for Mr. Lincoln at that time. Mr. Greeley listened with keen attention to Mr. Lincoln's Cooper Institute address on February 27th, 1860, and not only spoke of it in the *Tribune* in terms of highest praise, but published the address in full for nation-wide distribution. And so high was the estimate Mr. Lincoln placed upon Horace Greeley that early in his administration he declared that Mr. Greeley's earnest support of his administration would be more helpful than a hundred thousand soldiers.

Why then should there have been infelicity between these two great Americans I ask again? It is inadequate to a fitting characterization of that infelicity simply to declare it to have been unfortunate. It was more than unfortunate. It was wrong, radically, avoidably, culpably wrong, and Abraham Lincoln was not the perpetrator but the innocent victim of that wrong. This is my unequivocal and unqualified testimony after the lapse of more than half a century, and this

testimony is based upon a thorough familiarity with all the facts and events connected with the matter.

There is given to us an early disclosure of the inner nature of these two great Americans. In 1858 Mr. Greeley, though the editor of the leading republican paper of the nation, failed to give his cordial support to Mr. Lincoln, as republican candidate for the United States senate from Illinois, but preferred the election of Stephen A. Douglas, the author of the repeal of the Missouri Compromise. The spirit by which Mr. Greeley was actuated is revealed by the following letter addressed to a journalist very nearly his own equal in ability and in standing:

New York, July 24, 1858.

My Friend:

You have taken your own course—don't try to throw the blame on others. You have repelled Douglas, who might have been conciliated and attached to our own side, whatever he may *now* find it necessary to say, or do, and instead of helping us in other states, you have thrown a load upon us that may probably break us down.

You know what was the almost unanimous desire of the republicans of other states; and you spurned and insulted them. Now go ahead and fight it through. You are in for it and it does no good to make up wry faces. What I have said in the *Tribune* since the fight was resolved on, has been in good faith, intended to help you through. If Lincoln would fight up to the work also, you might get through—if he apologizes and retreats, he is lost, and all others go down with him. His first Springfield speech, at the convention, was in the right key; his Chicago speech was bad; and I fear the new Springfield speech is worse. If he dare not stand on broad republican ground, he cannot stand at all. That, however, is *his* business; he is nowise responsible for what I say. I shall stand on the broad antislavery ground, which I have occupied for years. I cannot change it to help your fight; and I should only damage you if I did. You have

got your Elephant—you would have him—now shoulder him! He is not so very heavy after all. As I seem to displease you equally when I try to keep you out of troubles, and when, having rushed in in spite of you, I try to help you in the struggle you have unwisely provoked, I must keep neutral, so far as may be hereafter.

Yours,

(Signed) HORACE GREELEY.

J. Medill, Esq., Chicago, Illinois.[1]

In reading this letter it should be remembered that Mr. Greeley's only provocation for such bitterness of spirit and imperious bearing was in the simple fact that the republicans of Illinois preferred Abraham Lincoln to Stephen A. Douglas as their United States senator.

What a contrast between the spirit revealed by that letter and the heart of Abraham Lincoln as disclosed in the following portions of a letter written by him in the very heat of that terrific struggle with Mr. Douglas:

Springfield, June 1st, 1858.

I have never said nor thought more, as to the inclination of some of our eastern republican friends to favor Douglas, than I expressed in your hearing on the evening of the 21st of April, at the State Library in this place. I have believed —do believe now—that Greeley, for instance, would be rather pleased to see Douglas re-elected over me or any other republican; and yet I do not believe it is so because of any secret arrangement with Douglas; it is because he thinks Douglas's superior position, reputation, experience, and ability, if you please, would more than compensate for his lack of a pure republican position, and therefore his re-election do the general cause of republicanism more good than would the election of any one of our better undistinguished pure republicans. I do not know how you estimate Greeley, but I consider him

[1] Nicolay and Hay, Abraham Lincoln, A History, Vol. II., pp. 140-141.

incapable of corruption or falsehood. He denies that he directly is taking part in favor of Douglas, and I believe him. Still his feeling constantly manifests itself in his paper, which, being so extensively read in Illinois is, and will continue to be, a drag upon us.[2]

No other great man known to American history ever has exhibited a spirit so free from resentment as is shown by this letter from Abraham Lincoln.

It is probable that Mr. Greeley's hearty support in 1858 would have resulted in Mr. Lincoln's election at that time to the United States senate. His failure to attain that object of his heart's desire undoubtedly resulted in his subsequent election to the Presidency. But that does not diminish the sense of keen resentment which might be expected to fill his heart because of Mr. Greeley's disaffection at such a time of need, for his highest aspiration at that time was to be chosen to a seat in the senate of the United States. However, every utterance of Mr. Lincoln concerning the matter is in harmony with the letter above quoted. That same spirit characterized all of Mr. Lincoln's dealings and relations with Horace Greeley.

During the struggle which preceded the campaign of 1860 Mr. Greeley's warfare against slavery and its defenders was characterized by great severity. Slavery was a great evil, but the feeling against it was intensified because of the methods by which it was defended and made strong and aggressive. Hence, the antislavery people were not disposed to disapprove of Mr. Greeley's severity when republishing in the *Tribune* an item which appeared in a pro-slavery paper, he added: "Now, if any one knows a better way to answer the one who wrote that item than by a blow over the head with the butt end of a musket, we will stand back and permit him to deal with this scoundrel."

This language of the great antislavery editor was not

[2] Complete Works of Abraham Lincoln, Vol. II., p. 362.

more savage than were editorials which appeared in Southern papers in the denunciation of abolitionists on account of their hostility to slavery. Therefore, the sympathetic readers of the *Tribune* did not recognize in Mr. Greeley's caustic language respecting slavery any disclosure of an imperious or uncharitable nature. Had the above letter to Mr. Joseph Medill, of Chicago, been published during the Lincoln-Douglas campaign of 1858 it would have shown the anti-slavery forces that in dealing with friends and comrades, Mr. Greeley could be quite as severe in judgment, and harsh in language, as when writing of slavery and its propagandists. But to the *Tribune* readers and to the antislavery forces throughout the nation, Mr. Greeley during those years was regarded as the embodiment of unselfish devotion to the interests of humanity, and as distinguished for personal amiability.

His life-story had been most skillfully and attractively told by James Parton, whose literary fame rose many degrees when this biography was given to the world. Parton's story of Mr. Greeley's life won for his hero the admiration of the American people, and contributed very largely to the influence of the *Tribune* in molding public sentiment throughout the free states of the nation.

Mr. Greeley, in the *Tribune,* had successfully championed the cause of struggling humanity. Nailing to its masthead the motto, "Land for the Landless," he aided in larger measure than did any other American in the passage of the "Homestead Law." And his clarion call, "Go west, young man, and grow up with the country," helped as did no other effort in making that Homestead Law effective, by peopling the frontier portions of the nation with a class of enterprising, intelligent, thoroughly American men and women.

Because of the high esteem in which Mr. Greeley was held it was generally believed that his opposition to the nomination of Hon. William H. Seward, in 1860, as the republican candidate for President, was wholly attributable to his

conviction that the great New York senator, though the favorite of the antislavery people, would not be able to poll as large a vote as would a more conservative candidate. I was very industrious in the political activities of those times and very attentive to all manifestations of popular opinions and tendencies. And as far as I could learn there was no manifest public suspicion that Mr. Greeley, in his opposition to Mr. Seward, was in any degree influenced by personal animosity. It was, however, generally understood by the masses that during all of Mr. Seward's official life as governor of New York, and as senator, he was in closest personal fellowship with Horace Greeley; consequently, Mr. Greeley's declaration in the *Tribune* to the effect that the nomination of Mr. Seward would be unwise and probably result in defeat at the polls had great weight with the people. Because of his opposition to Seward, Mr. Greeley himself failed to be elected a delegate from New York to the Chicago convention; but by some means he succeeded in securing a seat in the convention as a delegate from Oregon, and was throughout the convention untiring in his efforts to prevent the nomination of Mr. Seward. His championship of the candidacy of Edward Bates of Missouri was not because of any special preference for Mr. Bates, but because of his conviction that in supporting the Missouri candidate he could most effectively defeat Seward.

Great was the manifestation of delight on the expressive face of Horace Greeley when Seward was defeated. The part taken by Mr. Greeley in this contest caused great bitterness against the *Tribune* and its editor, and gave rise to the insinuation that he was influenced by personal considerations.

I first learned of this charge through Mr. Greeley's indignant demand in the *Tribune* that the letter he was accused of writing Seward should be furnished him for publication in his paper. "Not a copy of the letter, but the original, identical letter which I am accused of writing is demanded. Nothing else will be accepted but the original letter, which, if

received, will be published in full that the readers of the *Tribune* may be afforded the opportunity to judge for themselves respecting the charges that have been made." This was substantially the editorial which I read with interest and amazement. With bated breath the antislavery forces awaited the result. And they had not long to wait, for soon there appeared in the columns of the *Tribune,* the full text of the Greeley letter to Seward, written some two years previous, and starting out with the declaration, as I now remember, that on a designated date "the firm known as Seward, Weed and Greeley would be dissolved by the withdrawal of the junior member of the firm." The date designated in the letter as the one on which the firm would be dissolved was the date upon which Mr. Seward was expected to be re-elected to the senate of the United States, of which he was, at the time, a distinguished member. Thus Mr. Greeley announced his purpose to contribute to the re-election of Mr. Seward, and that after that event his support of Seward would be discontinued. The reasons assigned in this letter for the course Mr. Greeley had decided to pursue were such as to fill the antislavery people throughout the nation with unspeakable regret because of the disclosure alike of the selfish motives by which Mr. Greeley was influenced, and the dictatorial and censorious spirit which he was not suppossed to possess.

This reference to the Seward-Greeley episode is here made for the purpose of showing the infelicitous spirit by which Mr. Greeley was dominated. The same spirit, with even more objectionable features, was exhibited in all his relations with President Lincoln. This began immediately after Mr. Lincoln's nomination at Chicago. During the campaign which resulted in his nomination there was great strife and more or less of bitterness. The delegates to that convention were confident of the election of the candidate whom they should name, if their choice proved to be fortunate. There was, therefore, a great prize for which the contending forces were struggling. But, when, upon the third ballot, Mr. Lincoln

received an overwhelming majority and was finally declared the nominee by a unanimous vote, all strife and contention instantly ceased, and all joined in words of congratulation and encouragement.

But Horace Greeley could not keep step with his comrades in this movement for harmony, notwithstanding the fact that he announced in the *Tribune* his acceptance of the result of the convention, and his purpose to labor for the success of the ticket which had been nominated. In an editorial making the above statement he said of the nominee for President: "While others are snowing him white with letters of congratulation, I must express my conviction that the nomination of Edward Bates would have been more fortunate." There was probably then living no other great public man who would have inserted that needless sting into that assurance of support. But Mr. Lincoln had not been his first choice and, therefore, he could not refrain from the above statement, which could have no other possible influence than to weaken the whole movement for the triumph of the republican cause.

It is no disparagement of the faithfulness and efficiency of others to regard Mr. Greeley as by far the largest contributor to the election of Abraham Lincoln in 1860. The *Tribune,* of which he was the editor and the dominating spirit, had a nation-wide circulation, and in all the Northern states it was the most potent influence in favor of the republican party. And through this medium, and otherwise, Mr. Greeley wrought with all his heart and soul for republican success. After the above disparaging missive not one discordant note was sounded by the *Tribune,* or its editor, until in November it bore to its readers the welcome tidings of triumph at the polls.

But when the victory was won the master-spirit of the movement, Horace Greeley, seemed immediately to become a victim of the complex and conflicting influences of his own eccentric nature. Even while the joyful shouts of victory

were ringing in his ears and his own praises were being sung by the glad multitudes, Mr. Greeley seemed to lose all the courage which had characterized his heroic struggles for human rights and welfare, and to be eager to surrender the fruit of triumph it had cost so dearly to achieve. Only three days after Mr. Lincoln's election Greeley published an editorial in the *Tribune* in which he said: "If the Cotton States shall become satisfied that they can do better out of the Union than in it, we insist on letting them go in peace. . . . The right to secede may be a revolutionary one, but it exists, nevertheless. We must ever resist the right of any State to remain in the Union and nullify or defy the laws thereof. To withdraw from the Union is quite another matter, and whenever a considerable section of our Union shall deliberately resolve to get out we shall resist all coercive measures designed to keep it in. We hope never to live in a republic whereof one section is pinned to another by bayonets." [8]

As early as November 30th, 1860, less than a month after the Presidential election, Mr. Greeley, in the columns of his widely circulated and very influential paper, said: "Webster and Marshall and Story have reasoned well; the Federal flag represents the government, not a mere league; we are in many respects one union from the St. John to the Rio Grande; but the genius of our institutions is essentially republican and averse to the employment of military force to fasten one section of our federacy to the other. If eight states, having five millions of people choose to separate from us, they cannot be permanently withheld from so doing by Federal cannon."

These declarations of Mr. Greeley were in response to the mutterings of dissatisfaction and threats of rebellion in the South, and were adapted to encourage the belief that secession could be secured without resistance from the national government. And while Mr. Greeley was thus encouraging the spirit of disloyalty by voluntarily offering to give away all the fruits of victory, Mr. Lincoln, the President-elect, though not

[8] A. K. McClure, Lincoln and Men of War Times, p. 291.

yet possessing any official authority, on the 11th of December, 1860, sent a letter to William Kellogg, in which he said: "Entertain no proposition for a compromise in regard to the extension of slavery. The instant you do they have us under again; all our labor is lost, and sooner or later must be done over. Douglas is sure to be again trying to bring in his 'Popular Sovereignty.' Have none of it. The tug has to come, and better now than later. You know I think the fugitive slave clause of the Constitution ought to be enforced —to put it in its mildest form, ought not to be resisted." [4]

And again, two days later, on the 13th of December, 1860, Mr. Lincoln in a letter to Hon. E. B. Washburne of Illinois, said: "Prevent as far as possible any of our friends from demoralizing themselves and their cause by entertaining propositions for compromise of any sort on slavery extension. There is no possible compromise upon it but what puts us under again, and all our work to do over again. Whether it be a Missouri line or Eli Thayer's popular sovereignty, it is all the same. Let either be done, and immediately filibustering and extending slavery recommences. On that point hold firm as a chain of steel." [5]

Four days after Mr. Lincoln sent this earnest plea to Mr. Washburne, and just after the secession of South Carolina, Mr. Greeley in a leading editorial of the *Tribune*, in December, 1860, in speaking of the Declaration of Independence, said: "If it justified the secession from the British Empire of three million of colonists in 1776, we do not see why it would not justify the secession of five million of Southerners from the Federal Union in 1861. . . . If seven or eight contiguous states should present themselves at Washington, saying: 'We hate the Federal Union: we have withdrawn from it; we give you the choice between acquiescing in our secession and arranging amicably all incidental questions on the one hand, and attempting to subdue us on the other,' we

[4] Complete Works of Abraham Lincoln, Vol. VI., p. 77.
[5] Ibid., p. 78.

would not stand up for coercion, for subjugation, for we do not think it would be just. We hold to the right of self-government even when invoked in behalf of those who deny it to others."

At no time in his life did Mr. Lincoln appear so wise and far-seeing, or so resourceful, as during that memorable period of four months between his election in November, 1860, and his inauguration on March 4th, 1861. All the resources of the national government were being employed to strengthen the disloyal element in the South which was threatening rebellion. While President Buchanan was not consenting to the acts of some of the members of his Cabinet, he was too weak and timid to exercise any influence in preventing them, or in safeguarding the interests of the nation.

Far away in his Springfield home, Mr. Lincoln could see the storm gathering to wreck the ship of state with no authority or power to control the hostile influences. And to make more difficult his task, the President-elect was constantly besieged by letters, newspaper articles and personal interviews to take some action with a view of averting civil war. To do so would in his judgment be unwise and harmful. It was claimed by some that a statement of his purposes would allay the apprehensions of the South and prevent war. But Mr. Lincoln knew that he repeatedly had declared his purposes with greatest possible fullness and clearness, and that any additional declaration at that crisis period would be regarded as an exhibition of timidity and would encourage rather than prevent the disloyal activities in the South. Many of the ablest men of the nation were engaged in what was designated as the peace movements, all of which were in the interest of secession.[6]

[6] Four years later, in his second inaugural, Mr. Lincoln referring to these conditions said: "While the inaugural address was being delivered from this place, devoted altogether to saving the Union without war, insurgent agents were in the city seeking to destroy it without war—seeking to dissolve the Union and divide the efforts by negotiation." Complete Works of Abraham Lincoln, Vol. XI., pp. 44-45.

At this time of unspeakable peril, and of great perplexity, Mr. Lincoln's efforts to save the nation were being hindered and made ineffective by the damaging vagaries about peaceable secession in which Mr. Greeley, in the *Tribune*, was constantly indulging. So harmful had these missives of Mr. Greeley become that Mr. Lincoln sent him a confidential word of caution which caused Mr. Greeley to express his opinion that "a state could no more secede at pleasure from the Union than a stave could secede from a cask." But so distorted was Mr. Greeley's mental vision, that after this very forceful declaration he said: "If eight or ten contiguous states sought to leave, he should say, 'there's the door—go!' But, if the seceding state or states go to fighting and defying the laws, the Union being yet undissolved save by their own say-so, I guess they will have to be made to behave themselves. . . . I fear nothing, care for nothing, but another disgraceful backdown of the free states. That is the only real danger. Let the Union slide—it may be reconstructed; let Presidents be assassinated, we can elect more; let the republicans be defeated and crushed, we shall rise again. But another nasty compromise, whereby everything is conceded and nothing secured, will so thoroughly disgrace and humiliate us that we can never again raise our heads, and this country becomes a second edition of the Barbary States, as they were sixty years ago. Take any form but that.'" [1]

This declaration of Mr. Greeley was in a private letter to Mr. Lincoln, dated December 22nd, 1860. Fortunately for the Union cause it was not published at the time, but it was to Mr. Lincoln a disclosure of the influences against which he would be compelled to contend in his efforts to save the Union.

Several weeks after this interchange of messages between Horace Greeley and the President-elect Mr. Lincoln wrote his prospective Secretary of State, Hon. Wm. H. Seward, on February 1st, 1861, as follows: "I am for no compromise which assists or permits the extension of the institution on soil

[1] Nicolay and Hay, Abraham Lincoln, A History, Vol. III., p. 258.

owned by the nation. And any trick by which the nation is to acquire territory, and then allow some local authority to spread slavery over it, is as obnoxious as any other. I take it that to effect some such result as this, and to put us again on the high road to a slave empire, is the object of all these proposed compromises. I am against it." [8]

Col. A. K. McClure, who was probably as close to President Lincoln as was any man not in official life, with the exception of Noah Brooks, in his excellent work, "Lincoln and Men of War Times," pp. 291-292, says of Mr. Greeley: "Less than two weeks before the inauguration of Lincoln, on the 23rd of February, 1861, and the same day on which his paper announced Lincoln's midnight journey from Harrisburg to Washington, Greeley said in a leading editorial: 'We have repeatedly said, and we once more insist, that the great principle embodied by Jefferson in the Declaration of American Independence, that governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed, is sound and just, and that if the slave states, the Cotton States, or the Gulf states only choose to form an independent nation, they have a clear moral right to do so. Whenever it shall be clear that the great body of Southern people have become conclusively alienated from the Union and anxious to escape from it, we will do our best to forward their views.' "

On pages 294-295 of the same work, Colonel McClure further says of Mr. Greeley: "He was never without some disturbing issue with Lincoln and the policy of the administration. . . . He fretted Lincoln more than any other one man in the United States, because he had greater ability and greater power than any whose criticisms could reach either Lincoln or the public."

Mr. Greeley continued his harmful championship of peaceable separation in preference to what was termed "coercion" until the Confederate guns were opened upon Fort Sumter. The roar of the artillery seems to have awakened and aroused

[8] Complete Works of Abraham Lincoln, Vol. VI., p. 102.

the old-time spirit of heroism by which Mr. Greeley had been actuated during the years of his warfare against slavery. According to his statement above quoted that the seceders "must be made to behave themselves," Mr. Greeley immediately, when the flag was fired upon, declared in favor of the most vigorous prosecution of the war. "The Nation's War Cry," was the caption of a *Tribune* editorial, printed in bold capitals and kept as standing matter in that paper. In that editorial Mr. Greeley said: "Forward to Richmond! Forward to Richmond! The Rebel Congress must not be allowed to meet there on the 20th of July. By that date the place must be held by the national army!"

The loyal people throughout the nation were thrilled by the daily declarations of the *Tribune* in favor of heroic action. So effective were these appeals of Mr. Greeley in the *Tribune* that public sentiment soon arose to fever-heat and the people clamored for opportunities to resist, by force of arms, those who were seeking the overthrow of the government.

When the Confederate forces were being marshalled at points adjacent to the national Capital, Mr. Lincoln called a council of his Cabinet with General Scott, who at that time was in command of the Union forces. In this council General Scott stated that the government was not in condition to make a successful advance upon the enemy, and earnestly recommended that no efforts in that direction be undertaken until the coming autumn. To this proposition Mr. Lincoln and each member of his Cabinet promptly replied that "the condition of public sentiment would not permit such a delay." That condition of public sentiment was very largely the product of the *Tribune's* impatient, and at times denunciatory insistence upon an immediate advance. Under this compulsion of public sentiment thus inflamed, the advance upon Manassas was undertaken and the disastrous battle of Bull Run was the result. Those were gloomy days for the loyal people of this nation. Better a thousand times that Mr. Lincoln should have been left to make the full and perfect prep-

aration which he deemed necessary before proceeding against an enemy so thoroughly equipped and prepared for action. But the well-meant clamor of the people, led by the *Tribune,* compelled that premature advance with its deplorable results.

It is amusing to remember the *Tribune's* instant change of front. No longer did its columns teem with passionate demands for immediate advance upon the enemy. I can recall, as vividly as if it occurred yesterday, the subdued and softened tones of the *Tribune,* which followed the disastrous Bull Run battle. Mr. Greeley assured his readers that it was not his purpose to interfere to any degree, or in any manner, with the action of the general government. Those in authority, he declared, were better informed than were others concerning conditions and should be left without interference by the people, to decide when and where and how to make an attack against the enemy.

That was wise counsel, but, unfortunately, it was late in being given. And then followed other disasters, and while the President, with sleepless, tireless energy, was seeking to save the nation; and while the people throughout the loyal states were kneeling before God in earnest supplications for the great and good Chieftain who, at this hour of grief and danger, sorely needed words of counsel and encouragement, Horace Greeley from his citadel in New York, hurled into the White House and into the heart of the President, the following cruel javelins:

New York, Monday, July 29, 1861. Midnight.

Dear Sir:

This is my seventh sleepless night—yours, too, doubtless—yet I think I shall not die, because I have no right to die. I must struggle to live, however bitterly. But to business. You are not considered a great man, and I am a hopelessly broken one. You are now undergoing a terrible ordeal, and God has thrown the gravest responsibilities upon you. Do not fear to meet them. . . . If the Union is irrevocably gone, an ar-

mistice for thirty, sixty, ninety, one hundred and twenty days —better still a year—ought at once to be proposed, with a view to a peaceful adjustment. Then Congress should call a national convention, to meet at the earliest possible day. And there should be an immediate and mutual exchange or release of prisoners and a disbandment of forces. I do not consider myself at present a judge of anything but the public sentiment. That seems to be everywhere gathering and deepening against a prosecution of the war. The gloom in this city is funereal—for our dead at Bull Run were many, and they lie unburied yet. On every brow sits sullen, scorching, black despair.

If it is best for the country and mankind that we make peace with the rebels at once and on their own terms, do not shrink even from that. But bear in mind the greatest truth: "Whoso would lose his life for my sake shall save it." Do the thing that is the highest right, and tell me how I am to second you.

Yours, in the depth of bitterness,

HORACE GREELEY.[9]

This harsh and heartless criticism of President Lincoln and of the Government at Washington, for the disastrous defeats which had occurred, caused Mr. Lincoln unspeakable pain, but did not awaken in his heart any feeling of resentment. It was the more inexcusable because it was well known to Mr. Greeley, that previous to Mr. Lincoln's inauguration, the administration of the Government had been so conducted by officials in full sympathy with the South as to cause him to be destitute of men or money with which to carry on the war against men who, according to their own declaration, had been preparing for the struggle "for more than thirty years." Therefore, the deplorable disasters which Mr. Greeley mentioned in this tirade against the Government should have awakened in every loyal heart deepest sympathy

[9] Nicolay and Hay, Abraham Lincoln, A History, Vol. IV., pp. 365-366.

with those who at such great disadvantage were seeking to save the nation from disaster. But Mr. Greeley was so constituted that he could only see that victory on the field of battle for the Union cause was desirable, and because it was desirable it must be attained, or upon the authorities of the nation his unqualified and crushing condemnation would fall.

In November, 1861, Mr. James R. Gilmore, a young, enterprising and brilliant literary gentleman with ample means, who is mentioned on other pages of this volume, visited Horace Greeley at the request of the Hon. Robert J. Walker, for the purpose of enlisting the *Tribune* editor in a movement for the publication of a magazine devoted wholly to the advocacy of emancipation. Mr. Greeley's interest was at once awakened by Mr. Gilmore's statement that Governor Walker was associated with him in the magazine enterprise. "Robert J. Walker!" said Mr. Greeley in surprise. "He is the greatest man we have had since Benjamin Franklin." It is probable that in this statement Mr. Greeley did not overestimate the great son of Pennsylvania, who, as senator from Mississippi, aided Andrew Jackson to crush nullification, and as Governor of Kansas, had performed even a greater service to the nation.

During this interview Mr. Greeley incidentally remarked that "everything was going to the devil," and when Mr. Gilmore asked for an explanation of his meaning, he declared:

"For half a year we have had one continued succession of disasters—Big Bethel, Bull Run, Wilson's Creek, and now Ball's Bluff, and the loss of Baker—with nothing to offset but a few insignificant victories in West Virginia—and all owing to the supineness and stupidity of the people at Washington. Six months! and we worse off than when we began! Why, six weeks of such a man as Jackson would have stamped the whole thing out; and now it must go on till both sections are ruined, and all because we have no sense or energy in the Government. It pains, it grieves me to think of it; for I feel in a measure responsible for it. For

you know it is said that but for my action in the convention, Lincoln would not have been nominated. It was a mistake, the biggest mistake of my life."

The reader will observe that in these statements Mr. Greeley not only speaks with harsh severity with reference to the disasters which had befallen the nation, but in so doing he piles merciless maledictions upon those who were charged with the duty of conducting the Government. It is probable that there was not in any government of earth at that time a company of more able, experienced statesmen than were those constituting Mr. Lincoln's Cabinet. That he might be surrounded by men of highest type, he astonished the world by choosing as his constitutional advisers the men who had been his chief rivals for his nomination. It is not probable that any other man who ever occupied the Presidential office would have dared to bring so large a company of able and experienced rivals into his official family. And Mr. Greeley's designation of these men, as above stated, is an illustration of his hasty and severe judgment respecting those who did not in all respects conform to his wishes.

And following this disloyal diatribe, and at the same interview, Mr. Greeley expressed to Mr. Gilmore his earnest wish to enter into a close alliance with President Lincoln by which he would receive for publication in the *Tribune,* advance information respecting the policies and proposed action of the Government. In return for this he engaged to give the President, and his administration, such cordial and constant support as would be rendered by an administration organ.

If it were not a matter of undisputable record it would be difficult to believe that after the letters he had sent to the President, as above stated, and immediately following his harangue of denunciation, Mr. Greeley could have made such a proposition. But more wonderful than this proposition of Mr. Greeley was the fact that when, a few days later, the matter was mentioned to Mr. Lincoln by Governor Walker and Mr. Gilmore, the President greeted the suggestion with

seeming delight and approval. Remembering all the infelicities through which he had passed, and especially the cruel and discouraging messages he had received from the *Tribune* editor, it seems incredible that a chief magistrate so extremely cautious and reticent as Mr. Lincoln was known to be could have entertained such a proposition for a moment. But Mr. Lincoln was so utterly void of any spirit of resentment or retaliation, so large-hearted and charitable in his estimates of his associates in the Union movement, and so unutterably anxious to secure the hearty co-operation of Mr. Greeley and the *Tribune* in the great struggle he was in, that he immediately prepared the following letter to Governor Walker:

Washington, Nov. 21, 1861.

Dear Governor:

I have thought over the interview which Mr. Gilmore has had with Mr. Greeley, and the proposal that Greeley has made to Gilmore, namely, that he (Gilmore) should communicate to him (Greeley) all that he learns from you of the inner workings of the administration, in return for his (Greeley's) giving such aid as he can to the new magazine, and allowing you (Walker) from time to time the use of his (Greeley's) columns when it is desirable to feel of, or forestall, public opinion on important subjects. The arrangement meets my unqualified approval, and I shall further it to the extent of my ability, by opening to you—as I do now—fully the policy of the Government—its present views and future intentions when formed—giving you permission to communicate them to Gilmore for Greeley; and in case you go to Europe I will give these things direct to Gilmore. But all this must be on the express and explicit understanding that the fact of these communications coming from me shall be absolutely confidential—not to be disclosed by Greeley to his nearest friend, or any of his subordinates. He will be, in effect, my mouthpiece, but I shall not be known to be the speaker.

I need not tell you that I have the highest confidence in Mr. Greeley. He is a great power. Having him firmly behind me will be as helpful to me as an army of one hundred thousand men. That he has ever kicked the traces has been owing to his not being fully informed. Tell Gilmore to say to him that, if he ever objects to my policy, I shall be glad to have him state to me his views frankly and fully. I shall adopt his if I can. If I cannot, I shall at least tell him why. He and I should stand together, and let no minor differences come between us; for we both seek one end, which is the saving of our country. Now, Governor, this is a longer letter than I have written in a month—longer than I would have written for any other man than Horace Greeley.

Your friend, truly,
ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

P. S.—The sooner Gilmore sees Greeley the better, as you may before long think it wise to ventilate our policy on the Trent affair.[10]

The reader scarcely need be requested to note the unqualified approval which Mr. Lincoln gives to this Greeley proposition, and his statement, "I shall further it to the extent of my ability."

The existence of the above letter is so little known, and its contents are of such measureless importance, that I not only publish the same in full, but most earnestly request that those who peruse these pages give it, in its entirety, careful consideration. It should not be overlooked nor forgotten, that the subject matter to which this communication refers was "the proposal that Greeley has made to Gilmore." In the fertile brain of the great journalist the proposition which is here set forth had its origin. The proposition was a bold and very remarkable effort of Mr. Greeley to secure for his paper such favors from the administration as are bestowed only upon publications which are known to represent the administration.

[10] Complete Works of Abraham Lincoln, Vol. XI., pp. 121-122.

Those were momentous days when careful efforts were being made to form an alliance between President Lincoln and Horace Greeley. The two principals in the proposed alliance did not meet during the period in which the affiliation was being considered. All the necessary arrangements were made between the President and Mr. Greeley through the agency of Governor Robert J. Walker and James R. Gilmore. The two men who were negotiating for the formation of that alliance were the most potential personalities in the nation. The President by virtue of his great office and his transcendent gifts of leadership was pre-eminently the foremost personality of the world. Horace Greeley, by whose suggestion the forming of that alliance was undertaken, was at that time the peerless journalist of the nation.

There is no evidence that the proposed alliance between President Lincoln and Horace Greeley, though solicited by the latter and favored by the former, ever was so fully consummated as to exert any restraining influence upon the *Tribune* or its editor. When Mr. Gilmore presented the above letter of the President to Governor Walker to Mr. Greeley, he carefully read and reread it, "his face beaming with simple joyousness." He then said: "He (Mr. Lincoln) is a wonderful man—wonderful! I never can harbor a thought against him except when I keep away from him. You must let me keep this letter." When Mr. Gilmore hesitated to grant this request, Mr. Greeley said: "It shall not be seen. I want it just to look at when I am downhearted. The approval of such a man is worth having." Yet Mr. Greeley's criticisms and complaints continued, and were quite as unreasonable, unkind and harmful as they had been. There can be no estimate of the advantage to the country if the proposed alliance could have been formed and made effective. It certainly would have added immensely to the influence of the *Tribune* throughout the nation to have had information respecting the policy and operations of the government in advance of other papers, and

would have caused the great republican daily to become recognized as an administration organ, and would have built it up into far greater strength and influence than it ever attained.

And to have had that great paper standing boldly and unwaveringly for the measures which the President sought to make effective would so have added to the strength and effectiveness of the government as to justify Mr. Lincoln's declaration in his letter to Governor Walker that Mr. Greeley's cordial and constant support would be more helpful than an army of a hundred thousand men.

In looking back upon these pregnant events I am thrilled with religious patriotism when I consider the possibilities of the carrying out of the purposes for which the alliance between the *Tribune* and the national administration was undertaken. I drank daily and copiously from the waters which flowed from the seemingly exhaustless fountain in the *Tribune* building in New York City. I mingled continuously with the people whose thirst was slaked by the same refreshing waters. I heard the name of Horace Greeley in conversation and upon the platform almost as frequently as the name of Abraham Lincoln. I have not forgotten that we accepted as our own the opinions advocated by Greeley, often without hesitation. His statements were never called in question and his public suspicions respecting the motives of men in public life, and the probable results of proposed measures and movements influenced the judgment of the people almost like a divine edict. And I realized then, as I do more fully while I write these words, that the troubled waters of public sentiment during those fitful seasons of excitement and depression, could have been calmed by a little of the oil of loyal counsel in the columns of the *Tribune*. My eyes are misty, and my heart throbs with more than patriotic sorrow as I meditate upon the possibilities of the faithful carrying out of the covenant between the *Tribune* and the national administration. All who are familiar with the story of the Rebellion know that there were times, how many times need not be

designated, when prompt and courageous action by the Union forces would have brought the war to a speedy close. Instead of such action there was seeming timidity and delay. With tear-dimmed eyes we read the story of those golden opportunities which came and went with the exigencies of war. But no such failure in the field resulted in such serious loss to the Union cause as did the failure of the proposed covenant of co-operation between President Lincoln and Horace Greeley. There were times when the hostility of Mr. Greeley and the *Tribune* to President Lincoln and his policies reached a crisis. Such a point was reached when in the Spring of 1862 the President courteously but earnestly invited Mr. Greeley to an interview in the White House and in a manner which at times of great emergency he assumed said to Mr. Greeley: "What have I done or omitted to do which has provoked the hostility of the *Tribune?*" To this pointed and significant question of Mr. Lincoln, Mr. Greeley replied by declaring that the President ought to issue a Proclamation of Emancipation. To this Mr. Lincoln replied: "There are twenty thousand muskets on the shoulders of Kentuckians who are bravely fighting our battles. Every one of them will be thrown down or carried over to the Rebels if I should issue such a proclamation."

"Let them go!" angrily replied Mr. Greeley, "the cause of the Union will be stronger if Kentucky should secede." To this Mr. Lincoln calmly replied: "Oh, I cannot think that."

Was there ever a more impressive exhibition of the calm dignity and great strength which should characterize a great ruler than this answer of Abraham Lincoln to the petulant, irrational declaration of Horace Greeley?

Again and again I have read the account of this interview and have meditated upon its significance, and at each perusal it reveals, with greater distinctness, the dominant characteristics of these two great men. In the light of history, Mr. Greeley's declarations are like the utterances of a madman, while the words of Lincoln are as the voice of a sage.

Another crisis was reached when on the 19th of August, 1862, Mr. Greeley published in the *Tribune*, an editorial which he had the assurance to designate as "The Prayer of Twenty Million." It was an "Open Letter" to the President, and to this day I have a vivid recollection of the tremendous impression which that editorial made throughout the country. It was a haughty, dictatorial demand that the President should conduct the administration of the government according to Mr. Greeley's interpretation of his duties. The following is a portion of that editorial:

"On the face of this wide earth, Mr. President, there is not one disinterested, determined, intelligent champion of the Union cause who does not feel that all attempts to put down the Rebellion and at the same time uphold its inciting cause, are preposterous and futile—that the Rebellion, if crushed out tomorrow, would be renewed within a year if slavery were left in full vigor—that army officers, who remain to this day devoted to slavery, can at best be but halfway loyal to the Union—and that every hour of deference to slavery is an hour of added and deepened peril to the Union. I appeal to the testimony of your Ambassadors in Europe. It is freely at your service, not mine. Ask them to tell you candidly whether the seeming subserviency of your policy to the slave-holding, slavery-upholding interest, is not the perplexity, the despair of statesmen of all parties; and be admonished by the general answer." [11]

This editorial came at a time of critical conditions, and with nervous anxiety we awaited the action of the President in the matter. Many expected the strong hand of the government to be laid upon the great daily and that its editor would be called to an account for his interference with the administration at a time of great peril. But if an angel from heaven had come into our midst, bearing a message from

[11] Horace Greeley, The American Conflict, pp. 249-250.

the throne of God, it could not have produced a more profound impression than did the following reply of President Lincoln to the caustic criticisms of Mr. Greeley:

Executive Mansion, Washington, August 22, 1862.

Dear Sir:

I have just read yours of the 19th addressed to myself through the New York *Tribune.* If there be in it any statements or assumptions of fact which I may know to be erroneous, I do not now and here, controvert them. If there be in it any inferences which I may believe to be falsely drawn, I do not, now and here, argue against them. If there be perceptible in it an impatient and dictatorial tone, I waive it in deference to an old friend whose heart I have always supposed to be right.

As to the policy I "seem to be pursuing," as you say, I have not meant to leave any one in doubt.

I would save the Union. I would save it the shortest way under the Constitution. The sooner the national authority can be restored, the nearer the Union will be "the Union as it was." If there be those who would not save the Union unless they could at the same time save slavery, I do not agree with them. If there be those who would not save the Union unless they could at the same time destroy slavery, I do not agree with them. My paramount object in this struggle is to save the Union, and is not either to save or to destroy slavery. If I could save the Union without freeing any slave, I would do it; and if I could save it by freeing all the slaves, I would do it; and if I could save it by freeing some and leaving others alone, I would also do that. What I do about slavery and the colored race, I do because I believe it helps to save the Union; and what I forbear, I forbear because I do not believe it would help to save the Union. I shall do less whenever I shall believe what I am doing hurts the cause, and I shall do more whenever I shall believe doing more will help the cause. I shall try to

correct errors when shown to be errors, and I shall adopt new views as fast as they shall appear to be true views.

I have here stated my purpose according to my view of official duty; and I intend no modification of my oft-expressed personal wish that all men everywhere could be free.

Yours,

A. LINCOLN.[12]

The above "Open Letter" to Mr. Greeley was first published on the 23rd of August, 1862, in the *National Intelligencer* of Washington, D. C., and was at once copied in all the loyal papers of the country. Its immediate results resembled the "great calm which settled like a benediction upon tempestuous Galilee when a Voice divine rebuked the wind and the raging of the water." It was like the passing of the crisis of a burning fever, when speedy restoration to health and vigor suddenly begins. Many times since its first appearance that "Open Letter" has been published and it has come to be regarded as one of the most nearly perfect epistolary productions of human history.

Mr. Greeley attempted to reply but his efforts, though violent, only revealed his utter discomfiture; and in his own estimation his arguments were not of sufficient merit to justify reproduction in his elaborate history of "The American Conflict." But until the hour of Mr. Lincoln's tragic death Mr. Greeley seems neither to have forgiven nor forgotten that "Open Letter" which made August 22nd, 1862, an epoch in our nation's history. He continued his petulant criticisms but, peerless journalist as he believed himself to be, he never again ventured into the field of epistolary controversy with Abraham Lincoln.

It is interesting to remember that when President Lincoln wrote that letter to Horace Greeley he already had prepared the Emancipation Proclamation, and was anxiously

[12] Complete Works of Abraham Lincoln, Vol. VIII., p. 15.

waiting for more favorable military results before giving it publicity. That Proclamation had been discussed at length by the Cabinet and was lying in the drawer of the desk on which Mr. Lincoln wrote that Greeley letter. Just one month to the day from the date of that letter President Lincoln issued his preliminary Proclamation of Emancipation, which on the first day of the next January was followed by the final Proclamation.

The opportunity of his life—such an opportunity as very few men ever have had—came to Horace Greeley when the Emancipation Proclamation was issued by President Lincoln. Next to the President, Mr. Greeley was more responsible than any other person for that monumental edict of freedom. Because of his transcendent ability, his great influence with the people, and the immense circulation of the *Tribune* of which he was editor, Mr. Greeley had been the largest contributor to the creation of the public sentiment which made possible the election of Mr. Lincoln as President, and in due time caused him to issue that Proclamation.

Being a lifelong abolitionist, and of very ardent temperament, Mr. Greeley from the beginning of the war insisted upon the destruction of slavery not only upon moral grounds but as a means of military success. His demand for an Emancipation Proclamation was urged with ceaseless energy and at times in a dictatorial and imperious spirit. It was, therefore, peculiarly fitting that when that Proclamation for which Mr. Greeley had so long and so persistently pleaded was given to the world, he should be found among the most enthusiastic in supporting that important measure and in commending its author.

Furthermore, Mr. Greeley was under especial obligations to rally to the support of that Proclamation and of the President and his administration because of the hostility which the Proclamation had aroused throughout the loyal states. A general election of members of Congress was soon to be held in all the loyal states, and it was a matter of supreme importance

to have a verdict from the people in support of the antislavery policy adopted by the administration. The pro-slavery element in the loyal states was by the Proclamation aroused to frenzied assaults upon Mr. Lincoln, and were aided in their warfare by the Union people whose ardor was cooled by the adoption of the Emancipation policy. Postmaster General Montgomery Blair, when the Emancipation Proclamation was under consideration in the Cabinet, very emphatically and with unquestioning confidence assured the President that its adoption would cost him an adverse verdict of the people at the polls in November. Mr. Lincoln was also seriously apprehensive that such might be the case; yet, in obedience to an imperious sense of duty, he decided to incur the risk and trust to the loyal antislavery people to secure for the measure popular endorsement.

This condition gave Mr. Greeley the great opportunity to which, unfortunately, his measurements were not adequate. He gave the Emancipation Proclamation his enthusiastic support and he manifested a degree of interest in the election of members of Congress who favored emancipation, but his chief interest seemed to be in the Presidential election to be held two years later, at which time he was determined to prevent the re-election of President Lincoln. To accomplish that result he was searching the entire country to find a candidate for whom he could hope to win the nomination by the national convention of the Union party. During all the summer and autumn of 1862 I was in the thick of the fight to secure for the President, and for his administration, such an endorsement by the people at the polls as would aid in the struggle for the preservation of the nation. Well do I remember how the Emancipation Proclamation intensified that struggle by arousing to greater efforts both of the contending forces. Nor can I forget how seriously the Union party was weakened in that struggle by Mr. Greeley's persistent hostility to the President and his administration. And half a century of diversified experiences has not made less vivid my realiza-

tion of the depressing gloom that darkened all the land when the verdict at the polls, at the Congressional election in 1862, was found to be unfavorable to the administration.

But in that darkness a guiding star appeared as the people came to realize that the cause of emancipation was bound up in a bundle of life with the great Emancipator, and that his re-election was essential to the success of the edict against slavery and the preservation of the Union. However, while the masses were thus gathering to the standard of President Lincoln, Horace Greeley was industriously prosecuting his quest for a candidate to compete with Mr. Lincoln for the Presidential nomination.

At the dawning of the New Year, 1863, millions of slaves throughout the country arose and shook off the galling fetters with which they had been bound, and with melting melody that defied all efforts at imitation, mingled in song the name of their Divine Deliverer and, to them, the equally sacred and cherished name of Abraham Lincoln. The Emancipation Proclamation was effective with the slaves and it wrought like leaven among the loyal masses of the nation, but it failed to soften the heart of Horace Greeley, and to cause him to feel more kindly towards its author.

In May, 1863, the first year of freedom, Mr. Greeley sent Mr. James R. Gilmore, who had become a member of the *Tribune* editorial staff, to Murfreesboro, Tennessee, for the purpose of inducing General W. E. Rosecrans, then in command of the Army of the Cumberland, to consent to become a candidate for the Presidency. But, although in this he was unsuccessful, he continued to prosecute his warfare against the renomination of Mr. Lincoln, until his opposing voice was smothered by the shouts of approval in the Baltimore convention that registered the verdict of the people in favor of Abraham Lincoln. If Mr. Greeley had been of dimensions equal to his opportunity he would have pursued the consistent course for a great and good man, and would

have gone into history as second to only one, in his achievements for the cause of human freedom.

And after that renomination at Baltimore, at the crisis of that campaign, Mr. Greeley was active with the Wade-Davis faction in conducting a most unreasonable warfare against the President for the wise and proper exercise of his rightful executive authority to veto a measure which he did not approve. And though, during all the Presidential campaign, Mr. Greeley advocated the vigorous prosecution of the war, we were constantly confronted by the claim which during preceding years he so persistently had presented, that peace without dismemberment could be secured by negotiations. It was this claim of the opposition which during those midsummer months of 1864 caused the re-election of Mr. Lincoln to appear to some of his party leaders, and even to himself, as exceedingly improbable. There never had come from the Confederate authorities one utterance to justify the claim that any terms of peace without a dissolution of the Union would be by them for a moment entertained.

Yet, during the Presidential campaign of 1864, those Confederate leaders had, with consummate cunning, kept silent respecting this matter which gave the opposition the opportunity they coveted to claim that the time had come when the Union could be saved by negotiation without further "effusion of blood." And during the preceding years Mr. Greeley had persisted in presenting the same claim, and thus he had contributed to the public sentiment which made difficult and doubtful the triumph of the Union cause at the Presidential election.

It was characteristic of Mr. Greeley's eccentricities that in July, 1864, after Mr. Lincoln's renomination as a candidate for re-election, and before the national convention of the opposition had been held, he became actively interested in what is known as the Conference of Niagara Falls.

Two Confederate leaders, Clay of Alabama and Thompson of Mississippi, had found their way to a point in Canada,

not far from Niagara Falls, and at once opened negotiations with Mr. Greeley. The unsophisticated journalist immediately saw a cloud of doves of peace, each bearing an olive branch, and moving toward our national capital. Inspired by this vision, he sent on July 7th, 1864, a message to the President, in which he said: "I venture to remind you that our bleeding, bankrupt, almost dying country, longs for peace—shudders at the prospect of fresh conscriptions, of further wholesale devastations, and of new rivers of human blood; and a widespread conviction that the Government and its supporters are not anxious for peace and do not improve proffered opportunities to achieve it, is doing great harm and is morally certain, unless removed, to do far greater in the approaching elections. . . .

"Mr. President, I fear you do not realize how intently the people desire any peace consistent with the national integrity and honor, and how joyously they would hail its achievement and bless its authors. . . . I do not say that a just peace is now attainable, though I believe it to be so." [18]

In this letter Mr. Greeley informs the President of the presence of the two above-named Confederate officers at Niagara Falls and intimates that they are authorized by the Confederate Government to offer terms of peace. He further asks on behalf of those alleged commissioners the President's safe conduct that they may visit Washington and confer with him.

But Abraham Lincoln was not to be caught in the trap thus skillfully set and baited by the Confederate emissaries and their unsophisticated associate—Horace Greeley. He understood far better than Mr. Greeley the mission of those Confederate commissioners at Niagara Falls. Therefore, with characteristic sagacity Mr. Lincoln on the 9th of July, 1864, replied to this letter from Mr. Greeley as follows: "If you can find any person anywhere professing to have authority from Jefferson Davis, in writing, embracing the restoration of

[18] Nicolay and Hay, Vol. IX., pp. 186-187.

the Union and the abandonment of slavery, whatever else it embraces, say to him that he may come to me with you."

This would have led to movements that would have resulted in peace but for the vital defect—the Confederate leaders were not seeking peace except upon the condition of Southern Independence. Therefore, those two Confederate leaders when confronted by Mr. Lincoln's proposition communicated to them by Horace Greeley were compelled to admit that they had no official authority to negotiate for peace.

In a private letter dated July 25th, 1864, and addressed to Mr. Abram Wakeman, postmaster of New York City, Mr. Lincoln said: "The men of the South recently (and probably still) at Niagara Falls tell us distinctly that they *are* in the confidential employment of the Rebellion, and they tell us as distinctly that they are *not* empowered to offer terms of peace. Does any one doubt that what they are empowered to do is to assist in selecting and arranging a candidate and a platform for the Chicago convention?"

This letter shows that Mr. Lincoln fully understood the purposes for which the Confederate commissioners were at Niagara Falls and that the peace proposition which Mr. Greeley so zealously espoused was but another one of the many skillfully constructed schemes by which the Confederate leaders sought to secure from Mr. Lincoln a recognition of the Confederacy which would be embarrassing to him and helpful to them at the capitals of foreign nations. Occurring as it did during the dark and dismal days of the Presidential campaign of 1864 it would have been inestimably harmful to the Union cause but for the skill and promptness with which it was exposed by the President's prompt reply. It is probable that in all the country Horace Greeley was the only great man who, at such a time, could have been led into such an ambush of the enemy.

It is interesting to note that it was just at this time of peculiar need that there came to Mr. Lincoln information which under God was most sustaining and helpful to him, in

his peculiarly difficult work. Direct from the Confederate capital, as I have elsewhere fully explained, Mr. Gilmore had brought to the President the declarations of Jefferson Davis respecting his determination to submit to no terms of peace which did not include the independence of the South. With this knowledge which he knew would soon be communicated to the millions throughout the loyal states, Mr. Lincoln was comforted and sustained, as was Elijah beneath the juniper tree, by the ministration of the celestial messenger.

There is no reasonable explanation of the contradictory characteristics in Mr. Greeley's nature. He was merciless as well as masterful in the use of his facile pen. With a severity that made the heart quiver he piled his maledictions upon the institution of slavery and upon those identified with it. But he seemed to be insensible to the unutterable anguish which his pen inflicted upon the hearts of true, brave, loyal Union men who were not less opposed to slavery than was he, but who differed from him concerning minor features of that question. He could not endure the thought "of the needless effusion of blood," but would deliberately and without compunction, pierce with a thousand pains the hearts of as true and loyal men as ever wore the uniform or carried the seal of office. He seemed utterly indifferent to the pleas that were made for forbearance toward President Lincoln, who, as the world now sees, was guided by infinite wisdom in the course he pursued. Mr. Lincoln's heart was as tender as a loving mother tow 1 even his most malignant enemy, and he deplored the sl..dding of blood quite as fully as did Horace Greeley, or any other human being.

The life led by Mr. Greeley was singularly adapted to accentuate these qualities. Each denunciation of slavery seemed to fill his heart with a spirit of bitterness and cause him to pour out the vials of his wrath upon the devoted heads of public officials and army officers who failed to win his approbation. He dipped his pen in vitriol when writing against slavery, and by the force of habit, when commenting on the

attitudes and activities of our good President his hand automatically sought the same bottle in which he had found the liquid to his liking when denouncing slavery.

No one will question Mr. Greeley's loyalty to his convictions; but those of us who knew him well will agree that he was constitutionally incompetent to reach right conclusions with reference to practical, abstract propositions relative to which he had strong preferences. Perhaps, to say frankly that Mr. Greeley was defective in judgment would be more readily and generally understood. An artist would possibly say that he was overstocked with perspective but defective in intermediate details. In personal affairs he was, as a rule, wise and discreet. He began with nothing and learned that wealth, strength and influence were attained by increment. But in public affairs he would fix his eye upon some great object which he believed should be attained and when the goal was reached by the patient and persevering efforts of others, he simply knew he was at the point he had sought to reach, and regarded the achievement as the result of his far-seeing wisdom, ability and skill in execution. He would recognize a possible achievement as desirable in governmental affairs and until it was obtained he would accuse the government of tardiness and denounce those in authority without inquiring the cause of delay. With his meager knowledge of conditions he would pronounce emphatic judgment against the acts of others who, unlike himself, were familiar with all the facts connected with the affair.

A striking illustration of these characteristics of Horace Greeley, which the present generation should understand, is found in his attitude to the question of national finances, not only during the years of the rebellion, but also during the troublesome period of reconstruction.

During the rebellion the enormous cost of prosecuting the war was far greater than the amount of hard money (gold and silver) which it was possible for the government to secure. Mr. Lincoln's Secretary of the Treasury, Hon. Salmon P.

Chase, found that his predecessor in office had, by skillful manipulation, compelled him to confront the enormous expenses of the war with an empty treasury. Therefore, it became necessary to issue redeemable paper currency for the payment of which, at as early a period as possible, and in hard money, the national government was responsible. This paper money became, throughout the nation, the medium of exchange in the transaction of all private business, and nearly all the business of the national government.

Gold and silver money was automatically withdrawn from circulation, and rose to a high premium as the amount of paper money was increased. It was provided that at as early a date as possible the government would redeem its paper currency with hard money, and with the same medium would meet its own financial obligations. This was designated as "the resumption of specie payment," and to accomplish that result was the greatest problem of the government after the close of the rebellion.

The *Congressional Record* shows that General James A. Garfield, who was at that time a member of Congress from Ohio, a favorite son of the Buckeye state, and was looked upon as the coming man, did not participate to any considerable extent in the discussions and proceedings of Congress respecting reconstruction. Some of us who were deeply interested in the future career of this talented and highly cultured young statesman, remonstrated with him because of his seeming neglect of passing opportunities to attract the attention and win the favor of the nation. To these expressions of friendly solicitude General Garfield replied: "The great question which this war will require the American statesmen to understand is not Reconstruction, but Finance—how to pay the nation's debts and how to resume specie payment; and that is the question I am now studying, and which I hope at the time of need thoroughly to understand."

That answer was not fully satisfactory to us young men, but in due time the financial world and the governments of

earth were astonished by General Garfield's perfect familiarity with the whole financial problem of the nation and his wise leadership in the settlement of that great problem growing out of the war. It was my privilege to sit with enraptured soul and listen to that really marvelous speech by which that strong advocate of protection won for himself a voluntary tender of membership in the Free Trade Cobden Club of London; and I then understood the significance of General Garfield's earlier statements respecting his diligent and tireless investigation of financial problems.

And while General Garfield and other far-seeing American statesmen were thus studying the great financial problem of the nation; while the government was exercising its every power and taxing to the limit all its wisdom and resources to meet the nation's current needs, and at the same time provide for the earliest possible resumption of specie payment, Horace Greeley was very active, not in a diligent study of the financial problem but in publishing imperious demands for the immediate resumption of specie payment. "Resume! Resume!" was his imperative demand, and "the way to resume, is to resume," so constantly appeared in the columns of the *Tribune* that it became a byword throughout the nation, and is, even yet, in a paraphrase form used in jocose demands for reaching the unattainable.

For several hours I sat by Mr. Greeley's side, on a sofa, in the national House of Representatives, and listened to his emphatic statements with reference to governmental questions. It was during the closing months of the war when it required nearly three dollars in paper money to purchase one dollar in gold or silver. During that conversation he vehemently demanded a return to specie payment and said: "I do not believe any man is fit to be Secretary of the Treasury who cannot resume specie payment within thirty days after the war closes."

I listened to that declaration of Mr. Greeley with reference to the resumption of specie payment with unspeakable aston-

ishment. It required no considerable knowledge of the practical affairs of government to make apparent the utter impossibility of the achievement which he so confidently and emphatically declared to be attainable. When those words were spoken by the great New York editor, William Pitt Fessenden, the successor of Salmon P. Chase, had charge of the Treasury portfolio of the government. He was succeeded in that position by Hugh McCullough, a man of transcendent ability and thoroughly familiar with the subject of national finance. And through all the administration of Andrew Johnson, the eight years of General Grant, and a portion of the administration of R. B. Hayes, from 1865 to 1879, fifteen years in all, the government struggled constantly, under the leadership of our greatest financiers, to reach the goal which Mr. Greeley, with vehemence, declared could be attained in thirty days.

The resumption of specie payment was reached during the administration of President Hayes, with that masterful financier and statesman—Hon. John Sherman—as Secretary of the Treasury. And that achievement, fifteen years after the close of the war, caused Mr. Sherman to be regarded as one of the ablest financiers in the world and came very near placing him in the presidential chair. But that magnificent achievement seemed to Mr. Greeley, even when the war was still in progress, as a work to be accomplished in thirty days. He had no patience with those who were engaged in making necessary preparation for resumption. He could not wait for the government to accumulate sufficient gold to make possible the redemption of its paper money.

As in 1861, while the country was without an army that could safely advance against the Confederate forces, Mr. Greeley imperatively demanded an immediate forward movement, so in 1865 he insisted that the government should make even exchange of specie for paper money when there was no specie with which to make that exchange. It was not difficult

for Mr. Lincoln patiently to bear with Mr. Greeley and give his opinions the consideration which was due; but coupled with the defects in Mr. Greeley's intellect was an imperious dominating spirit that caused the President not only serious embarrassment but excruciating pain. He was unwilling to share with others the privilege of conference with the President, but insisted upon being his only counsellor respecting many important matters relative to which he had but limited information. He was like the boy who, while riding horseback with his brother, with petulance exclaimed: "If one of us would get off there would be more room for me."

Additional light upon the characteristics of Mr. Greeley which caused President Lincoln so much needless embarrassment and suffering is found in the following statement in the autobiography of Dr. Andrew D. White. In writing of Mr. Greeley as a member of the New York Constitutional Convention in 1867, Dr. White says:

"Mr. Greeley was at first all-powerful. . . . For a few days he had everything his own way. But he soon proved to be so erratic a leader that his influence was completely lost, and after a few sessions there was hardly any member with less real power to influence the judgments of his colleagues."

Dr. White tells of Mr. Greeley's imperious, dictatorial bearing toward other members of the convention, and of his profane denunciations of some who voted contrary to his wishes. Not content with his opportunities to complain and grumble in the convention he filled the columns of the *Tribune* with his harmful criticisms until, as Dr. White says, "The convention became thoroughly though unjustly discredited throughout the state and indeed throughout the country." Mr. Greeley finally came to approve the work of the convention and sought by strong editorials in the *Tribune* to secure its adoption by the people, "but it was all in vain. The unfavorable impression had been too widely and too deeply made, and the result was that the new Constitution when submitted to

the people was ignominiously voted down and the whole summer's work of the Convention went for nothing." [14]

The following is Mr. Greeley's own testimony concerning the matters herein referred to: "It is quite probable that, had a popular election been held at any time during the year following the Fourth of July, 1862, on the question of continuing the war or arresting it on the best attainable terms, a majority would have voted for peace; while it is highly probable that a still larger majority would have voted against emancipation. From an early hour of the struggle the public mind slowly and steadily gravitated toward the conclusion that the Rebellion was vulnerable only or mainly through slavery; but that conclusion was scarcely reached by a majority before the occurrence of the New York riots, in July, 1863. The President, though widely reproached with tardiness and reluctance in taking up the gauge plainly thrown down by the Slave Power, was probably ahead of the majority of the people of the loyal states in definitely accepting the issue of Emancipation or Disunion. Having taken a long step in the right direction, he never retracted nor seemed to regret it; though he sometimes observed that the beneficial results of the Emancipation policy were neither so signal nor so promptly realized as its sanguine promoters had anticipated." [15]

It is unfortunate that it required the tragic death of the great and good President, the lapse of time, and the lessons of many years to cause Mr. Greeley to realize the marvelous wisdom and statesmanship of the man to whose lips, while living, he so constantly held the cup of bitterness. It seems a poor atonement for Mr. Greeley's sins of caustic criticism thus to place a wreath upon the martyr's brow. But what more at that late day could he do? The great lesson taught by what I have here recorded is to avoid the evils by which the life of one of our greatest men was so seriously marred.

It is quite certain that the infelicity with which the life

[14] Autobiography of Andrew D. White, Vol. I., pp. 142-146.
[15] Horace Greeley, The American Conflict, Vol. II., pp. 254-255.

of President Lincoln was embittered has wrought a great and beneficent reform in our country. When the great heart which those infelicities pierced with poignant pain suddenly ceased to beat, the pages of history became luminous and in that light the great worth of Abraham Lincoln was seen, and the cruelties inflicted upon him sought in vain to hide from the displeasure of humanity. The indignities which marred the pages of the London *Punch* suddenly became vocal with the wail of sorrow which Tom Taylor, in his anguish, gave to the world in plaintive poetry. And in our own land the hearts which were unrelenting while Mr. Lincoln lived, softened to gentleness when he died, and the harsh and rasping voices of criticism mellowed in eulogy and praise. When "the Lord turned and looked upon Peter," the disciple who had thrice denied his Lord "went out and wept bitterly."

And into that same seclusion of sorrowful regret there fled a multitude of the unreasonable and unreasoning fanatics who, prompted by Satanic influences, piled maledictions instead of merited commendation and praise upon the Lord's chosen chieftain of the nation. And from that valley of humiliation, where causeless criticism of the great and good President appeared in all its hideous hatefulness, the nation has ascended to a height of beatific vision of the rights of rulers and the obligations of those who have chosen them to authority.

VII

WADE-DAVIS MANIFESTO

THE revolt against President Lincoln which was of all such demonstrations the most painful to him and the most dangerous to the Union cause was what is known in history as "The Wade-Davis Manifesto." The leader in that revolt was Hon. Henry Winter Davis, a member of Congress from Maryland from 1855 to 1861, and from 1863 until his death on December 30th, 1865.

Mr. Davis was an exceptionally strong personality—a man of great intellectual force, of wide range of scholarship, and intensely and unyieldingly purposeful in all his relations to public matters. High spirited and of violent temper, he was imperious in bearing, and being one of the most gifted and accomplished orators in Congress, and a republican from a slave state, he exerted a very great influence in Congress. His aggressive nature swept him along into extremes in opinion and in speech. It would have been unlike Mr. Davis to characterize any man or measure as unwise. That would have been a term too weak to express his haughty disdain of any matter of which he did not heartily approve. The heroic warfare which he waged against slavery and secession was of that extreme denunciatory character which developed and strengthened the distinctive and dominant characteristics of his nature. Therefore, when he had occasion to differ from the President, his opposition was expressed in severe denunciation which unfortunately was carried to such extremes as greatly to annoy Mr. Lincoln and embarrass the administration.

At the period of which I am now writing the status of the states in rebellion had come to be a question of overshadowing importance. Upon that question the party in power was sharply and seriously divided. The radical element claimed that the states which joined in the secession movement and in rebellion had thereby lost their identity as members of the Union; and that they could be restored to their former standing only by processes similar to those by which territories were admitted into the Union as states.

As private secretary of the Hon. James M. Ashley, who was quite prominent and influential at that time, and who was one of the leading advocates of views held by the most radical of the Union party, I became thoroughly familiar with their plan of reconstruction, and with the arguments by which their views were defended. General Ashley, by changing his vote on the Constitutional Amendment abolishing and prohibiting slavery when that measure was defeated in the House, had obtained charge of that amendment, when upon his motion it was for the second time brought before the House, and as mover of the motion made the first speech in the debate which followed.

At his home in Toledo, Ohio, in an extended interview, he conferred with me relative to his views on that subject, and I read with care the manuscript of his speech upon that amendment before it was delivered in the House. Thus, at the beginning of the controversy, I became thoroughly acquainted with the radical programme of reconstruction. Mr. Davis was the leading advocate of that doctrine in the House, and Senator Benjamin F. Wade, of Ohio, was his closest and most zealous associate in that work.

President Lincoln was pronouncedly opposed to this theory of reconstruction, claiming that the war was being conducted as an emphatic declaration that the states had no power to renounce their allegiance to the national government, or to destroy or forfeit their standing in the Union; and that when the rebellion was suppressed, the general government should

by wisely chosen methods restore to the several states their former rights and privileges in the Union.

A man possessing the statesmanlike forecast for which President Lincoln was distinguished, would not fail to realize the importance of taking definite position on the important question of reconstruction as early as would be advisable. Therefore, in his message to Congress, December 8th, 1863, he introduced the subject, stating with very great clearness his views relative to the matter, and presenting arguments of irresistible force in defense of his views on the question. Every member of his Cabinet, with the exception of Mr. Chase, was in favor of the policy which the President in his message indicated as the one which he would pursue. There had been in portions of the speeches of leading members of Congress, and also in some resolutions introduced by them, some indefinite expressions of conviction relative to the status of the states in rebellion. Senator Charles Sumner had, in a resolution, spoken of "State Suicide" in such a way as to indicate that his views on reconstruction were not in harmony with those which subsequently were advocated by the President in the message above referred to.

While the message was being read in the two Houses of Congress it received unusually marked attention. There was a solemn hush when it launched boldly out upon the untried and unknown sea of reconstruction. Some of the great leaders of the radical portion of the Union party leaned forward in their seats and seemed intent upon catching every word which fell from the lips of the reading clerk. This was continued until it became evident that the President would take the more conservative view of the subject, at which point extremists like Mr. Sumner became restless, and some by their manner indicated impatience.

But so definite and clear was the statement of the President's views, and so tremendous was the strength of the arguments by which they were defended, that not even the extremists were able to appear inattentive while that portion of

the message was being read. The influence of the reading of the message in both House and Senate was scarcely less than marvelous. The recognized adherents of the kind and conservative policy of the President listened throughout with marked intensity, and no manifestation of disapproval was anywhere to be seen.

At the close of the reading of the message Mr. Chandler, the big, burly senator from Michigan, was delighted. The deep-toned voice of Mr. Sumner expressed with emphasis his joyous satisfaction. Mr. Dixon and Reverdy Johnson said the message was satisfactory. Henry Wilson, "in the overflowing kindness of his great big heart," requested the President's private secretary "to tell the President that he had struck another great blow, God bless him!" Quite as pronounced was the endorsement received from leading members of the House. Hon. George S. Boutwell, who was regarded as the leader of the extreme antislavery New England sentiment, said of the message: "It is a very able and shrewd paper, and it is all right." Owen Lovejoy, of Illinois, was outspoken and emphatic in his approval of the position taken by the President, and with characteristic religious fervor said he could "see on the mountains the feet of one bringing good tidings." Of like character, and quite as emphatic, were the expressions of approval from General Garfield, Francis W. Kellogg, and H. T. Blow. Even Horace Greeley, who always gave approval of Mr. Lincoln's acts with strange reluctance, being on the floor of the House when the message was read, declared in characteristic language that it was "devilish good." All day long and into the night the Executive Mansion was thronged by delighted members of the Senate and the House, army officers, prominent politicians from every portion of the country, and newspaper men galore, all expressing their unreserved and unqualified approval of the policy announced by the President, and his unanswerable argument in its support.

A still stronger indication of the impression the President's message had made was seen in the changed appearance and

manner of the leading members of the two branches of Congress, and especially of the Union members. It was like the "clearing up" in autumn after dark and threatening clouds had for several days covered the sky, and given evidence of approaching storms. This burst of sunshine lighted up and softened the strong and classic features of the great Massachusetts senator, which, though they did not quite reach the point of wearing a pleasing smile, were without any trace of the determined expression they usually bore. The same light, like the rising sun in Indian summer, glorified the face of Hon. Henry Wilson, Mr. Sumner's colleague in the senate. Most marked of all were the changes in the very thoughtful and strong features of Hon. Reverdy Johnson of Maryland, who was probably the ablest lawyer in the senate. His sloping shoulders were elevated, and he walked with an erectness and springing step which I never noticed in him at any other time.

The coming man of the House, the thorough scholar, the untiring student and able advocate, General James A. Garfield, freely expressed his great satisfaction at the position taken by the President and his admiration of his exceedingly able argument in defense of that position. And so in both branches of the national legislature, there was a spirit of exuberance and settled satisfaction which I saw at no other time during the five years of my connection with the legislative branch of the government. It seemed that the millennium had come and that the anthem, "Peace on earth, good will to men," again was being chanted by the heavenly choir.

But the millennium had not come, and the celestial music soon was smothered by a rumbling sound that seemed to presage a coming conflict. The first tangible indication of antagonism to the reconstruction policy of the administration was in a motion by Henry Winter Davis, in the House, that the portion of the President's message relating to reconstruction be referred to a special committee of which he was made chairman. This motion was adopted by the House without

hesitation, or inquiry. The referring of the reconstruction portions of the President's message to a committee which was known to be dominated by Mr. Davis, did not at the time attract sufficient attention greatly to disturb those who were confidently expecting a harmonious and progressive session of Congress, and a sweeping victory at the polls in November.

It was known, however, that Mr. Davis, at the slightest provocation, real or imaginary, was certain to assail the President with characteristic severity, but the nation-wide approval of the message seemed sufficiently emphatic and laudatory to hush into satisfying silence all hostile and harmful criticism. The progress of the nation's arms on every field so attracted public attention and stimulated patriotic interest and enthusiasm that elaborate preparations for a factional assault upon the President was systematically conducted by Mr. Davis and his followers without arousing any general apprehension of danger to the Union cause.

At length the Davis committee presented its report upon the portion of the message of the President which had been referred to it. That report came in the form of a Reconstruction Bill skillfully prepared by Mr. Davis, and in direct and flagrant conflict with the reconstruction policy of the President, as set forth and advocated in his annual message presented to Congress at the beginning of the session. That reconstruction measure was supported by Mr. Davis in a speech of great power and eloquence, but of such animus that it aroused the adherents of the President's policy. The bill contained the following preamble:

"Whereas, The so-called Confederate states are a public enemy, waging an unjust war, whose injustice is so glaring that they have no right to claim the mitigation of the extreme rights of war which are accorded by modern usage to an enemy who has a right to consider the war a just one; and,

"Whereas, None of the states which, by a regularly recorded majority of its citizens, have joined the so-called Southern Confederacy can be considered and treated as entitled to

be represented in Congress or to take any part in the political government of the Union." . . .

This preamble, as is plainly seen, contains all the vitriol of the extreme "State Suicide" policy of the radicals. It was speedily rejected by the House, but the bill itself, which throughout all its sections was dominated by the spirit of the preamble, was passed by the decisive vote of seventy-four to fifty-nine. While the discussion of this bill was in progress in the House, President Lincoln made no effort in any way to prevent its approval. When it reached the senate it was there introduced by Senator Wade, of Ohio, who had charge of the measure while it was under consideration in that body.

Mr. Wade was one of the most widely known and highly esteemed members of the senate. He was somewhat slow in winning nation-wide fame, for early in his senatorial career he was the colleague of the princely Salmon P. Chase, so magnificent in personal appearance, so manifestly strong in intellect, so profound in his knowledge of law, and so forceful in public address as to eclipse most of the other antislavery senators. But "Bluff Ben Wade," as he came to be designated, moved steadily to the front and by his great personal courage, pronounced radical convictions and rough but tremendously forceful statements of his views, soon came to be held by his antislavery associates in very high regard, and to be respected and feared by those who disapproved of his convictions.

He was a pronounced radical, and of all the members of the senate he, perhaps, was the most outspoken and severe in his hostility to all measures which he disapproved. He was a fitting associate of Henry Winter Davis, and together they constituted a force not easily resisted.

The Davis Reconstruction Bill was amended in the senate, and at length submitted to a conference committee of the two branches of Congress, all of which occupied so extended a period of time that it was not until the fourth of July, 1864,

the last day of the session, that the measure was finally passed and submitted to the President for his approval.

During all the prolonged consideration of this very objectionable measure in the senate, the President pursued the same policy of non-interference which had been observed by him while the bill was before the House. I call special attention to this fact because of the charges which were made against the President for his course respecting this measure. It is no unusual thing for a President to be very active and influential in securing congressional action for the furtherance of the policy of his administration. Indeed it is expected of him as the Chief Magistrate, and the official and responsible leader of his party, that he will exercise all suitable authority and influence to secure the enactment of laws which are in accordance with the policy of the party in power.

It is possible that Mr. Lincoln's course in avoiding all interference with the action of Congress relative to this measure was attributable to the fact that reconstruction was a new issue which had grown out of the Rebellion, and was without any historical precedents. Therefore, he regarded it as fitting, carefully to determine upon a policy in harmony with his convictions, and having presented that policy in his official communication to Congress to leave the legislative body to take such action as in the judgment of its members the exigencies of the occasion required. Whatever were the influences by which he was controlled, it is certain that his course respecting this measure when it was before Congress was entirely unobjectionable. The President had in no way intimated what would be his action with reference to the bill when it should be presented for his signature. It was evident, however, that the leading champions of that measure were somewhat apprehensive concerning his course, for, during the last hour of the session, while he was engaged in his room adjacent to the Senate Chamber in signing bills as they were passed, Senator Sumner of Massachusetts, and Representative Boutwell, of the same state, were standing near his

desk and were carefully observing what he did. Bill after bill was laid upon his table and received his signature, but when the Wade-Davis Reconstruction Bill came to his hand, he quietly laid it to one side and proceeded with his work.

This action was observed with evident disappointment by Mr. Sumner and Mr. Boutwell, but they courteously refrained from any remark respecting what he had done, and soon withdrew.

About this time bluff and rough "Zach" Chandler, of Michigan, who had entered the President's room, rudely blurted out a direct inquiry of the President as to the course he intended to pursue relative to that bill. With his customary courtesy and calmness, Mr. Lincoln replied: "This bill has been placed before me a few minutes before Congress adjourns. It is a matter of too much importance to be swallowed in that way."

With some show of feeling, Mr. Chandler declared that to veto the bill would be harmful to the party in the northwest. A brief argument ensued between the President and the Michigan senator, and when Mr. Chandler referred to the Emancipation Proclamation as an interference with slavery in the states, the President replied: "I conceive that I may in an emergency do things on military grounds which cannot be done constitutionally by Congress." When Mr. Chandler had withdrawn, the President addressing the members of his Cabinet, who were present, said: "I do not see how any of us now can deny and contradict what we have always said, that Congress has no constitutional power over slavery in the states." This sentiment was approved by every member of the Cabinet who at the time was present. The President further said: "This bill and the position of these gentlemen seem to me, in asserting that the insurrectionary states are no longer in the Union, to make the fatal admission that states, whenever they please, may of their own motion, dissolve their connection with the Union. Now we cannot survive that admis-

sion, I am convinced. If that be true, I am not President; these gentlemen are not Congress."

The President and his constitutional advisers logically discriminated between an act of Congress respecting a state constitution and the Emancipation Proclamation which was an act of the Executive, and a war measure, adopted, as was declared in the Proclamation itself, "upon military necessity."

In some way it very soon became known in the House that the President had not attached his signature to the Wade-Davis Bill and the leading advocates of that measure were at once thrown into a state of excitement and anger. But nothing could be done; and when at length the time for adjournment came, and members were anxious to complete their work and hasten to their homes, Mr. Davis was favored by a very limited audience, when standing upon his desk in the House, pale with anger, he denounced with dramatic fervor the action of the President relative to his favorite measure.

The President was not indifferent to the indications of serious disturbance and division in his party. He expressed his apprehension that the friends of the measure he had refused to sign would "do harm" in their denunciation of his course. But there was not the slightest indication of any faltering or fear upon his part. However, according to his usual custom of taking the people into his confidence, he immediately issued a proclamation in which he stated at length, and with great clearness, the provisions of the bill and the reasons which had caused him to refuse to give it his approval. As the bill was passed only a few minutes before the adjournment there was no time for the preparation of a veto measure, and he therefore followed the course which many Presidents have pursued and gave the measure what is known as a pocket veto; that is, he simply refrained from attaching his signature to the bill, which was equivalent to a veto.

All this turmoil would soon have passed away but for the insuppressible contentiousness of Wade and Davis, who re-

sponded to the President's proclamation above referred to by what is known as the "Wade-Davis Manifesto," which they published in the New York *Tribune* of August 5th, 1864. A prominent feature of that Manifesto was its violent assault upon President Lincoln for the exercise of his constitutional prerogative in defeating, by his veto, a measure which he fully believed was not only harmful in its nature, but was also in conflict with the national constitution, and with common law. The Manifesto was addressed "To the Supporters of the Government," and began by saying:

"We have read without surprise, but not without indignation, the proclamation of the President of July 8th, 1864. The supporters of the administration are responsible to the country for its conduct; and it is their right and duty to check the encroachments of the Executive on the authority of Congress, and to require it to confine itself to its proper sphere."

The first phrase in the Manifesto is an insinuation that its authors expected some act of the President like that of which they make complaint. The next phrase declares their "indignation." The mere mention of these portions of the Manifesto is sufficient to cause one to realize the exceedingly infelicitous spirit in which that Manifesto was prepared and published. But its chief indictment of the President is where it speaks of "the encroachments of the Executive on Congress," and maintains that the Executive should be required "to confine itself to its proper sphere." Remembering that these two men were able and distinguished lawyers and public men of large experience, their unqualified charge that the conduct of the President was an encroachment of the Executive upon the rights of the legislative branch of government, should be considered in the light of the statements already made respecting the very considerate and faultless course pursued by the President while this Reconstruction Bill was under consideration in the House and Senate. Certainly the accusation of encroachment could not apply to any act of Mr. Lincoln before the passage of this bill. It must, therefore,

refer to his veto of the measure, or to his proclamation, or to both. Now there is in the proclamation not one utterance or intimation that could fairly be construed into an encroachment upon the rights and the prerogatives of the legislative branch of government. That accusation, therefore, must refer to the President's refusal to make the measure effective by his signature. It seems incredible that such able and learned men should have gone before the nation making such a serious charge against the President, for in vetoing a measure of which he disapproved he was unquestionably exercising his rightful prerogative. The right of veto is as fully guaranteed to the President by the national Constitution as is the right of members of Congress to introduce, advocate and vote for measures which they desire to have enacted. No one, and least of all the President himself, for a moment questioned the right of Mr. Davis to prepare this bill and advocate its adoption, or the right of Mr. Wade to support it. And the insinuation that in preventing that objectionable measure from becoming a law, the Executive had encroached upon the rights and prerogatives of the legislative branch of government was too absurd to merit respectful consideration but for the high standing of its authors.

However, in spite of the great service which these gentlemen rendered the cause of civic righteousness, their conduct in this case should not be forgotten, but should be remembered and held up as an illustration of the utterly unreasonable extent to which great men may go when moved by passion and animosity. Viewed in the light of the almost unanimous approval which the President's reconstruction policy received when presented in his annual message it is passing strange that within six brief months so great a change had been wrought as to make possible the passage of the Davis Reconstruction Bill, and the unseemly and harmful imbroglio which plunged the government and the country into such humiliation and peril. The lowest level of this revolt was reached in the following portion of the Manifesto:

"The President by preventing this Bill from becoming a law, holds the electoral vote of the Rebel states at the dictation of his personal ambition. . . . If electors for President be allowed to be chosen in either of those states a sinister light will be cast on the motives which induced the President to hold for naught the will of Congress rather than his government in Louisiana and Arkansas."

That insinuation caused President Lincoln the most excruciating pain. It was too base to be answered and too serious to be ignored. He could only refer to it in private conversation, as he sometimes did, in terms of deep regret, but never with anger or resentment. The astonishing character of this assault upon the President appears when it is remembered that it occurred at a time when it could not possibly accomplish and good and could not fail to result in harm by adding immensely to the perils which were threatening the nation's life. Congress had adjourned and the veto of the Davis Bill was beyond recall. The President had been renominated by the national convention of his party, and his re-election was necessary to the preservation of the Union. The Confederate-favoring forces of the loyal states were all arrayed against him and were rapidly gathering into their ranks the people who were weary of the war and had been led to believe that peace by negotiation and without further bloodshed could be secured. Under this delusion multitudes of loyal people were forsaking the Union party and uniting with the opposition, and the only possible influence of the Wade-Davis Manifesto was to strengthen the opposition to the President and in like measure increase the perils of the nation.

With heart and soul, by voice and pen, I was struggling with the Union forces to aid in arresting the tide of defection from the President's supporters when that denunciatory Manifesto was published and was greeted with wild enthusiasm by the cohorts of disunion in all the loyal states. In remembrance I can feel today the pain that filled my soul when I

read that Manifesto and witnessed its appalling influence upon the public mind. In common with other Union workers throughout the land I could not refrain from crying out, "Oh, why did they do it; what good could they hope to accomplish by such methods?" And that cry became nation-wide and continued during the weeks that followed. How effective for evil that Manifesto proved to be is indicated by the fact that within eighteen days after it was published the President and the leaders of his party had become convinced that his defeat in November was altogether probable. That calamity was averted by a providential intervention, an account of which appears on other pages of this book, but the mad revolt from the disasters of which we so narrowly escaped, should be remembered that we may avoid the spirit that produced it.

The extent to which great men at that period of agitation and strife were influenced by unreasoning prejudice and passion is indicated by the fact that many of our most distinguished statesmen, even after they had expressed their approval of the President's reconstruction policy, as set forth in his annual message, aligned themselves with this utterly unreasonable assault upon President Lincoln because of his faithful and conscientious discharge of his duty as Chief Executive of the nation.

In view of all this it brings warmth and gladness to the heart to read the following from Hon. James M. Ashley, which forms a fitting conclusion to this chapter:

"The first time I called at the White House, after Senator Wade and Henry Winter Davis issued their celebrated Manifesto against Mr. Lincoln, the President, as he advanced to take my hand, said: 'Ashley, I am glad to see by the papers that you refused to sign the Wade and Davis Manifesto.'

"'Yes, Mr. President,' I answered, 'I could not do that,' and added, for

> "'Close as sin and suffering joined
> We march to fate abreast.'

"It was a picture as we stood thus, my lips quivering with emotion, while tears stood on the eyes of both. On many occasions during the darkest hours of our great conflict men who were in accord were often in such close touch with each other that each could feel the pulse-beat of the other's heart.

"This incident tells its own story. Mr. Lincoln regarded both Mr. Wade and Mr. Davis as able and honest men, and he knew they were my warm personal friends. He also knew that nothing but a sense of public duty could have separated me from them. No one regretted their mistake more than I did; and, knowing my close relations to them, Mr. Lincoln did not hesitate to speak to me of their mistake in the kindest spirit."

So fully did public sentiment come into harmony with President Lincoln that at the next and final session of this, the Thirty-ninth Congress, the Davis Reconstruction Bill, after a fiery speech in its favor by its author, was on February 21st, 1865, killed by a vote of 91 to 64.

VIII

EXTRACTS FROM AN UNPUBLISHED MANUSCRIPT OF REV. P. D. GURLEY, D.D.

THE manuscript from which the following selections have been taken was secured from Doctor Gurley's daughter, Mrs. Emma K. Adams, of Washington, D. C.

One of the first things Abraham Lincoln did, upon entering the White House as President, was to select a church and take a pew for his family and himself. He decided on the New York Avenue Presbyterian Church, saying in after years, "I went there because I like the pastor, Dr. Gurley, and because he preached the gospel and let politics alone. I get enough politics during the week." The intimacy and mutual admiration which existed between the President and his pastor is well known.—The Author.

* * * * *

One morning, as Mr. Lincoln's pastor and intimate friend, I went over to the White House in response to an invitation from the President. He had me come over before he had his breakfast. The night before we had been together and Mr. Lincoln had said: "Doctor, you rise early; so do I; come over tomorrow morning about seven o'clock. We can talk for an hour before breakfast." This I did, as before stated, and after breakfasting with Mrs. Lincoln and exchanging a few words in the hall with the President who was about to pass up to his office, I started for home. As I passed out of the gateway which leads up to the White House and stepped on the street I was joined by a member of my congregation.

"Why, doctor," said my friend, "it is not nine o'clock; what are you doing at the Executive Mansion?" To this I replied, "Mr. Lincoln and I have been having a morning chat." "On the war, I suppose?" "Far from it," said I. "We have been talking about the state of the soul after death. That is a subject of which Mr. Lincoln never tires. I have had a great many conversations with him on the subject. This morning, however, I was a listener as Mr. Lincoln did all the talking."

* * * * *

The day before Mr. Lincoln signed and issued the final Emancipation Proclamation, I was besieged by persons who were anxious to learn something about the proclamation and who believed because of my intimacy with Mr. Lincoln I had been apprised of its contents. Not a word escaped me concerning it, and though I knew its contents none were the wiser for my knowledge.

* * * * *

One day as I was walking through the Capitol, I was joined by a gentleman and together we walked over to the senate. The conversation led around to Mr. Lincoln. "Doctor," said the man, "tell me, is Mr. Lincoln a member of your church?" "Mr. Lincoln," I answered, "has never applied for membership. If he did I would admit him."

* * * * *

When Mr. Lincoln returned from Richmond, only a very short time before his tragic death, he told me he was very much pleased with his reception in that city. He said he never could forget how kindly he had been received. "Why, Doctor," he said, "I walked alone on the street, and any one could have shot me from a second story window."

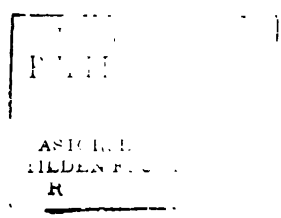
* * * * *

One evening about eight o'clock, Mr. Lincoln came down the White House stairs and found two or three of the em-

REV. PHINEAS D. GURLEY, D.D.

President Lincoln's pastor, and the New York Avenue Presbyterian Church, Washington, D. C.

By courtesy of Mr. F. H. Meserve of New York City.



ployees by the front door. He said, "I want to walk over to Secretary Stanton's and would like to have one of you walk over with me." One of the men immediately got his hat and started off with Mr. Lincoln. As they crossed over Pennsylvania Avenue, Mr. Lincoln said: "I have received a great many threatening letters lately, but I don't feel afraid."

"Mr. President," said his escort, "because you are not afraid is no evidence you are free from danger; many a life has been sacrificed for want of fear."

"That's so," said the President. His face looked haggard and he walked quite slowly. Secretary Stanton lived on the north side of K street, between 13th and 14th streets, not a great distance from the Executive Mansion. When they were on the steps of the Stanton residence, waiting for the servant to answer their ring, Mr. Lincoln said to his escort: "Mr. Stanton is sick. I am going up to his room. You wait for me in the hall here."

At this time General Sherman's army was passing through the South and Mr. Lincoln was very anxious to confer with Mr. Stanton. He was upstairs with him about an hour, and when once more on the street he seemed lost in thought. Finally, as if thinking aloud he said: "Senator Harlan is a very good man."

"Yes," said the escort, "the Senator is highly spoken of." No further conversation took place. In a short time Mr. Harlan was appointed Secretary of the Interior, and it is probable that his name was suggested to the President by Mr. Stanton during that interview.

* * * * *

Some one reported to Mr. Lincoln that General Joseph Singleton Mosby, of the Confederate Army, had said he would cross the Potomac River and attend one of the White House levees. If he did, no one ever knew of it but himself. However, one morning after a levee, a card was found in a snuff-

box in the Green Room on which was written, "J. S. Mosby, Colonel C. S. A."

* * * * *

Before the war broke out, brave Admiral Shufeldt, owing to the quietness of things, resigned and became captain of a vessel that ran from New York to Cuba. When the war began Mr. Lincoln recalled him to the navy and he was restored to his former rank. Mr. Lincoln said to him during the war, "Shufeldt, I want you to go down to Mexico, and see if you can arrange to have the Negroes colonized down there." The Admiral did as requested, met with a very kind reception from President Juarez, who offered him the land south of Mexico for the purpose Mr. Lincoln had advised, and an escort of 75,000 soldiers. The letters that passed between Mr. Lincoln and Admiral Shufeldt on this subject were said never to have been seen except by four persons, namely, Mr. Lincoln, Secretary Seward, President Juarez and Admiral Shufeldt, as no record was kept of them owing to their not being placed on file in the State Department.

* * * * *

One day a Cabinet officer and I had been spending an hour with Mr. Lincoln. When the time came for us to depart the Secretary said: "Mr. President, I wish you would describe the proper manner of telling a story. How is it yours are so interesting?"

"Well," said Mr. Lincoln, "there are two ways of relating a story. If you have an auditor who has the time, and is inclined to listen, lengthen it out, pour it out slowly as if from a jug. If you have a poor listener, hasten it, shorten it, shoot it out of a pop-gun."

* * * * *

Mr. Lincoln was very much impressed with an address made over the coffin of his little son Willie. The day after the funeral he wrote me a note and asked me to write it out for him so he could give copies to his friends. He often

This is a picture of a bouquet now in Mr. E. J. Chapman's collection, at Los Angeles. The flowers were picked and presented to my Mother by Abraham Lincoln, during and evening spent at the White House by my Parents, Revd. Mr. and Mrs. P. D. Gurley.

Emma C. Adams,

October 9. 1914.

spoke to me of how he liked to read it over. This address was as follows: "Sad and solemn is the occasion that brings us here today. A dark shadow of affliction has fallen upon this habitation and upon the hearts of its inmates. The news thereof has already gone forth to the extremities of the country. The nation has heard it with deep and tender emotion. The eye of the nation is moistened with tears as it turns today to the Presidential mansion. The heart of the nation sympathizes with its chief magistrate while to the unprecedented weight of civil care which presses upon him is added the burden of this great domestic sorrow, and the prayers of the nation ascend to heaven on his behalf and on behalf of his weeping family that God's grace may be sufficient for them, and that in this hour of sore bereavement and trial they may have the presence and succor of Him who said: 'Come unto Me all ye that labor and are heavy laden and I will give you rest.' Oh, that they may be enabled to lay their heads upon His infinite bosom and find, as many other smitten ones have found, that He is their truest refuge and strength and a very present help in trouble.

"The beloved youth whose death we now and here lament was a child of bright intelligence and of peculiar promise. He possessed many excellent qualities of mind and heart which greatly endeared him not only to the family circle but to all his youthful acquaintances and friends. His mind was active, he was inquisitive and conscientious; his disposition was amiable and affectionate. His impulses kind and generous; his words and manners were gentle and attractive. It is easy to see how a child thus endowed could, in the course of eleven years entwine himself around the hearts of those who knew him best; nor can we wonder that the grief of his affectionate mother today is like that of Rachel weeping for her children and refusing to be comforted, because they were not.

"His sickness was an attack of fever threatening from the first and painfully productive of mental wandering and delirium. All that the tenderest parental care and watching

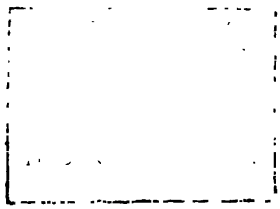
and the most assiduous and skillful medical treatment could do was done, and though at times even in the last stages of the disease his symptoms were regarded as favorable and inspired a faint and wavering hope of his recovery, still the insidious malady pursued its course unchecked, and on Thursday last, at the hour of five in the afternoon, the golden bowl was broken and the emancipated spirit returned to the God who gave it. That departure was a sore bereavement to parents and brothers, and while they weep they also rejoice in the confidence that their loss is his gain, for they believe as well they may, that he has gone to Him who said: 'Suffer little children to come unto Me and forbid them not, for of such is the kingdom of heaven'; and that now with kindred spirits, and with a little brother he never saw on earth, he beholds the glory and sings the praises of the Redeemer. Blessed be God!

> " 'There is a world above
> Where sorrow is unknown,
> A long eternity of love
> Formed for the good alone.
> And faith beholds the dying here,
> Translated to that glorious sphere.'

"It is well for us and very comforting on such an occasion as this to get a clear and scriptural view of the Providence of God. His kingdom ruleth over all. All those events which in any wise affect our condition and happiness are in His hands and at His disposal. Disease and death are His messengers; they go forth at His bidding and their fearful work is limited or extended according to the good pleasure of His will. Not a sparrow falls to the ground without His care much less one of the human family, for we are of more value than many sparrows. These bereaved parents may be sure that their affliction has not come forth of the dust nor has their trouble sprung out of the ground. It is the well-

DEATHBED OF LINCOLN

Presented by Mrs. Abraham Lincoln in 1865 to my father, Rev. P. D. Gurley, D.D. (Emma H. Adams.) From the original photograph owned by Mrs. Lincoln, and now in the author's collection.



ordered procedure of their Father and their God. A mysterious dealing they may consider it; but still it is His dealing and while they mourn He is saying to them, as the Lord Jesus once said to His disciples when they were perplexed: 'What I do ye know not now, but ye shall know hereafter.' What we need in the hour of trial, and what we should seek by earnest prayer is confidence in Him who sees the end from the beginning and doeth all things well. Let us bow in His presence with an humble and teachable spirit; let us be still and know that He is God; let us acknowledge His hand and hear His voice; inquire after His will and seek His Holy Spirit, as our counsellor and guide, and all will be well in the end. In His light shall we see light; by His grace our sorrows will be sanctified and made a blessing to our souls, and by and by we shall have occasion to say with blended gratitude and rejoicing, 'It is good for us that we have been afflicted.' "

Soon after this the President and Mrs. Lincoln presented me with a beautiful ebony cane; the head was six inches in length, of small gold roses, and the following was engraved upon it: "Rev. P. D. Gurley, D.D., from Mr. and Mrs. Abraham Lincoln, 1862." It was in February, 1862, that this address was delivered in the room in which Willie died and from which he was buried. On account of the nature of the disease (varioloid) his funeral was private as possible. I was with the President and Mrs. Lincoln often during these dark hours.

Willie's death was a great blow to Mr. Lincoln, coming as it did in the midst of the war, when his burdens seemed already greater than he could bear. The little boy was always interested in the war and used to go down to the White House stables and read the battle news to the employees and talk over the outcome. These men all loved him and thought, for one of his years, he was most unusual. When he was dying he said to me, "Doctor Gurley, I have six one dollar gold pieces in my bank over there on the mantel. Please

send them to the missionaries for me." After his death those six one dollar pieces were shown to my Sunday School and the scholars were informed of Willie's request. He died in what was always called the "Prince of Wales Room," as the prince occupied it when visiting President Buchanan.

After his son's death, Mr. Lincoln was greatly annoyed by the report that he was interested in spiritualism. He told me he thought the report originated from the fact that a medium had chanced to call on Mrs. Lincoln. "A simple faith in God is good enough for me, and beyond that I do not concern myself very much," he added.

Willie was laid away in Oak Hill cemetery, Georgetown, D. C. Later, when his father's body was taken to Springfield, the child's remains were also taken. At a little town where the funeral train stopped for coal, some children came to the car and handed up a wreath, evidently the work of their own little hands, and one of them said as the flowers were accepted: "We knew every one would give Mr. Lincoln flowers, so we made this wreath for little Willie's coffin."

In Harrisburg, an old colored man approached the funeral train as it came to a stop in the station. He was trembling, and as he came to the car he took off his hat, bowed his head, and while the tears streamed down his face, exclaimed: "Massa Lincoln's dead, Massa Lincoln's dead, but de Lord spared him till he could set de poor colored people free!"

To me the most touching incident in connection with that never-to-be-forgotten journey to Springfield, with the remains, occurred while we were in Philadelphia. An old colored woman lamenting loudly for the dead President was outside Independence Hall where the remains lay in state. She joined the throng who were slowly passing through to take a last look at our beloved chieftain. As she approached the casket she wept aloud, crying, "Oh, Abraham Lincoln, Abraham Lincoln, are you dead?"

The President is dead! but in my fancy I can yet hear his voice, which was of moderate pitch. It was always con-

THE VILLAGE BLACKSMITH

The engraving from which this is copied hung in the room where President Lincoln died. Copies of the picture were so fully picked up that it was after thirty years' search that the copy now in Dr. Ervin Chapman's collection was secured.

versational and remarkable for its kindly tones. At times he used expressive gestures, but he never allowed his voice to reach a climax. And his eyes! During 1865, those sad eyes were often bloodshot from loss of sleep. He used to say, "While others are asleep I think," and then sadly add, "Night is the only time I have to think."

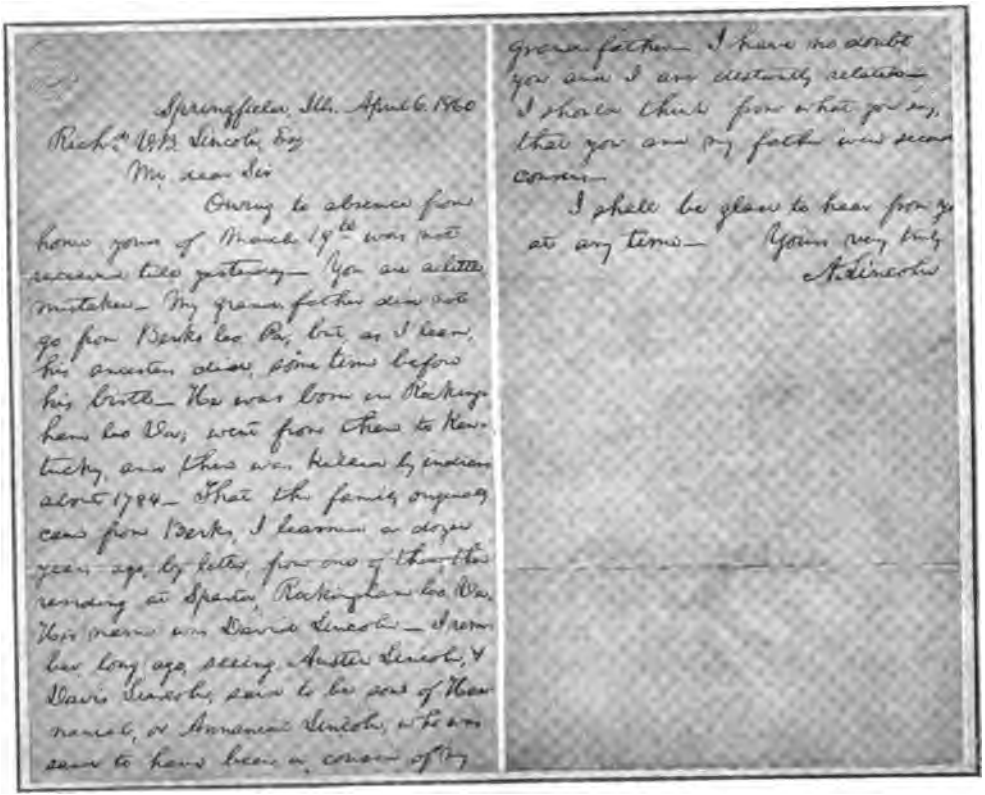
THE CENOTAPH

And so they buried Lincoln? Strange and vain!
  Has any creature thought of Lincoln hid
  In any vault, 'neath any coffin-lid,
In all the years since that wild Spring of pain?
'Tis false,—he never in the grave hath lain,
  You could not bury him although you slid
  Upon his clay the Cheops pyramid
Or heaped it with the Rocky Mountain chain.
They slew themselves; they but set Lincoln free.
  In all the earth his great heart beats as strong,
Shall beat while pulses throb to chivalry
  And burn with hate of tyranny and wrong.
  Whoever will may find him, anywhere
  Save in the tomb. Not there,—he is not there!

—James T. McKay.

PART III

The election has placed our President beyond the pale of human envy or human harm, as he is above the pale of human ambition. Henceforth all men will come to see him as we have seen him—a true, loyal, patient, patriotic, and benevolent man. Having no longer any motive to malign or injure him, detraction will cease, and Abraham Lincoln will take his place with Washington and Franklin and Jefferson and Adams and Jackson—among the benefactors of the country and of the human race.—*Tribute of William M. Seward.*



Springfield, Ills. April 6. 1860

Rich.d Hill Lincoln, Esq

My dear Sir

Owing to absence from home your of March 19th was not received till yesterday— You are a little mistaken— My grand father never went to Berks Co Pa, but as I learn, his ancestors did, some time before his birth— He was born in Rockingham Co Va, went from there to Kentucky, and there was killed by indians about 1784— That the family originally came from Berks, I learned a dozen years ago, by letter, from one of them then residing at Sparta, Rockingham Co Va, His name was David Lincoln— I remember long ago, seeing Abram Lincoln, & David Lincoln, said to be sons of Mordecai, or Abraham Lincoln, who are said to have been, cousins of my grand father— I have no doubt you and I are distantly related— I should think from what you say, that you are my father's second cousin—

I shall be glad to hear from you at any time— Yours very truly

A. Lincoln

FACSIMILE LETTER

Courtesy of John W. Lincoln, Mifflinburg, Pa.

CHAPTER I

STORIES ABOUT LINCOLN

LED BY THE SPIRIT

ISAAC and Sarah Harvey, very devout Quakers, resided in Clinton County, Ohio, about fifty miles northwest of Cincinnati. They were ardent abolitionists and Isaac was so obedient to "the movings of the Spirit" that his neighbors, who held him in reverence and esteem, regarded him as very eccentric in some of his religious convictions and conduct. In 1868 Mrs. Nellie Blessing-Eyster, who now resides in Berkeley, California, visited the Harveys and received from Isaac, who had become blind, an account of an interview with President Lincoln in September, 1862. The story as told by Mrs. Eyster is here published by her permission and is as follows:

"Folding his thin hands, his face wearing an expression of sweet gravity, and his words coming slowly as if he were weighing the value of each, he said:

" 'I will answer thy question. My quiet life has known few storms. I have loved God as my first, best and dearest friend, and He has ever dealt most tenderly with me. During the first years of the great rebellion, when I read and heard of the condition of the poor crushed Negroes, I tried to think it was a cunning device of bad men to create greater enmity between the North and the South; but when I read Lincoln's speeches, I thought so good and wise a man could not be deceived, and then I resolved to go and see for myself. At one of our First-day meetings I spoke of my intention, but although the brethren felt as I did upon the subject they

said it was rash for me to expose my life, for I could do no good. Nevertheless I went, traveling on horseback through most of the Southland.

" 'Often my life was in danger from guerrillas, but there was always an unseen arm between me and the actual foe, and in a few weeks I returned, saying the half had not been told of the sufferings of these poor, despised, yet God-fearing and God-trusting people.'

"Here his voice trembled with the overflow of pity of which his heart seemed the fountain.

" 'That summer,' he continued, 'I plowed and reaped and gathered in my harvest as usual. Day by day I prayed, at home and in the field, that God would show His delivering power as he had to the children of Israel. Nothing seemed to come in answer. Occasionally during the beginning of the war, news reached us that battles had been fought by the Northern men and victories won, but still the poor colored people were not let go.

" 'One day while plowing I heard a voice, whether inside me or outside of me I know not, but I was awake. It said: "Go thou and see the President." I answered: "Yea, Lord, Thy servant heareth." And unhitching my plow, I went at once to the house and said to mother: "Wilt thou go with me to Washington to see the President?"

" ' "Who sends thee?" she asked.

" ' "The Lord," I answered.

" ' "Where thou goest I will go," said mother, and began to make ready.

" 'My friends called me crazed; some said that this trip would be more foolish than the first, and that I, who had never been to Washington and knew no one in it, could not gain access to the great President.

" 'The Lord knew I did not want to be foolhardy, but I had that on my mind which I must tell President Lincoln, and I had faith that He who feedeth the sparrows would direct me.

" 'We left here on the 17th of Ninth month, 1862, the first time mother had been fifty miles from home in sixty years. It was a pleasant morning. Before we left the house we prayed that God would direct our wandering, or, if He saw best, direct us to return. Part of our journey was by stage. Every one looked at and spoke to us kindly. Oh, God's world is beautiful when we see the invisible in it.

" 'We got to Washington the next evening. It was about early candle light, and there was so much confusion at the depot and on the street that mother clung to my arm saying: "Oh, Isaac, we ought not to have come here! It looks like Babylon!"

" ' "But the Lord will help us if we have faith that we are doing His will," I replied, and we walked away from the cars.

" 'Under a lamp-post there stood a noble-looking man, reading a letter. I stepped before him and said: "Good friend, wilt thou tell us where to find President Lincoln?"

" 'He looked us all over before he spoke. We were neat and clean, and soon his face got bright and smiling, and he asked us a few plain questions. I told him we were Friends from Ohio who had come all of these weary miles to say a few words with President Lincoln, because the Lord had sent us.

" 'He nodded his head and said, "I understand." Then he took us to a large house called Willard's Hotel, and up to a little room away from all the noise.

" ' "Stay here," he said, "and I will see when the President can admit you."

" 'He was gone a long time, but meanwhile a young man brought us up a nice supper, which mother said was very hospitable in him, and when the gentleman returned he handed me a slip of paper upon which was written, "Admit the bearer to the chamber of the President at 9:30 o'clock tomorrow morning." My heart was so full of gratitude that I could not express my thanksgiving in words. That night was as peaceful as those at home in the meadows.

" 'The next morning the kind gentleman came and conducted us to the house nearby in which the President lived. Every one whom we met seemed to know our conductor and took off their hats to him. I was glad that he had so many friends. At the door of the big porch he left us, promising to return in an hour. "You must make your talk with him brief," he said. "A big battle has just been fought at Antietam. The North is victorious, but at least 12,000 men have been killed or wounded, and the President, like the rest of us, is in great trouble."

" 'I did not speak. I could not. The room into which we were first shown was full of people, all waiting, we supposed, to see the President. "Ah, Isaac, we shall not get near him today. See the anxious faces who come before us," whispered mother.

" ' "As God wills," I said.

" 'It was a sad place to be in, truly. There were soldiers' wives and wounded soldiers sitting around the large room, and not a soul but from whom joy and peace seemed to have fled. Some were weeping; soldiers with clanking spurs and short swords were rapidly walking through the halls; men with newspapers in their hands were reading the news from the seat of war, and the President's house seemed the center of the world. I felt what a solemn thing it must be to have so much power.'

"Here Uncle Isaac's voice got husky and tears fell from his sightless eyes upon his wrinkled hands. I reverently brushed them off, and in a few minutes he continued:

" 'When the summons came for us to enter—it was an advance of the others—my knees smote together, and for an instant I tottered. "Keep heart, Isaac," mother whispered, and we went forward. I fear thou wilt think me vain if I tell what followed.'

" 'No fear, Uncle Isaac. Please proceed.'

" 'It seemed so wonderful that, for a moment, I could not realize it. To think that such humble people as we were should be there in the actual presence of the greatest and best man in the world, and to be received by him as kindly as if he were our own son, made me feel very strange. He shook hands with us and put his chair between us. Oh, how I honored the good man! But I said:

" ' "Wilt thou pardon me that I do not remove my hat?" Then he smiled, and his grave face lit up as he said, "Certainly. I understand it all." The dear, dear man'—and again Uncle Isaac stopped as though to revel, as a devout nun counts her beads, in the memory of that interview.

"But I was impatient. 'What then, sir?' The answer came with a solemnity indescribable. My curiosity and his reminiscence were not in harmony.

" 'Of that half hour it does not become me to speak. I will think of it gratefully throughout eternity. At last we had to go. The President took a hand of each of us in his, saying, "I thank you for this visit. May God bless you." Was there ever greater condescension than that? Just then I asked him if he would object to writing just a line or two, certifying that I had fulfilled my mission, so that I could show it to the council at home. He sat down to his table.

" 'Wilt thou open the drawer of that old secretary in the corner behind thee, and hand me a little box from therein?'

"Up to that moment I had not noticed my surroundings. The old-fashioned furniture was oiled and rubbed, and a large secretary which belonged to the Colonial period was conspicuous. I obeyed instructions, and soon placed in the old man's now trembling fingers a small square tin box which was as bright as silver. Between two layers of cotton was a folded paper, already yellow. The words were verbatim these:

" 'I take pleasure in asserting that I have had profitable intercourse with friend Isaac Harvey and his good wife, Sarah

Harvey. May the Lord comfort them as they have sustained me.

"ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

"Sept. 19, 1862." [1]

" 'Uncle Isaac!' I exclaimed. 'I can scarcely realize that away off here in the backwoods I should read such words traced by Mr. Lincoln's own hands. How singular!'

" 'Not more so than the whole event was to us, dear child, from the first to the last. The following Second-day the preliminary Proclamation of Emancipation was issued. Thank God! Thank God!'

"It is not possible to depict the devout fervor of the old patriarch's thanksgiving.

" 'Our new friend was waiting at the outside door when we came out. I showed him the testimonial. He nodded his head affirmatively and said, "It is well."

" 'We soon left Washington, for our work was done and I longed for the quiet of home. Our friend took us to the omnibus which conveyed us to the cars, having treated us with a gracious hospitality which I can never forget. May the Lord care for him as he cared for us.'

" 'Did you not learn is name?' I inquired, wondering what official in those days would have bestowed so much time and courtesy upon these unpretending folk.

" 'Yes, he is high in the esteem of men and they call him Salmon P. Chase.' "

In connection with this remarkable story, the validity of which cannot be questioned, it is interesting to note that the preliminary Emancipation Proclamation issued a few days after the visit of Isaac and Sarah Harvey as stated on preceding pages was submitted to the Cabinet by President Lin-

[1] In a letter to H. W. W., Jesse Harvey, Isaac's son, thus accounts for this precious document: "We kept the writing given by A. Lincoln for years. It was borrowed some times, and finally was so soiled we concluded it would not be of interest to any one, and destroyed it with other old papers."

coln nearly two months before, and was at that time withheld from publication by the President that it might be issued in connection with the announcement of a great victory in the field. It is, however, certain that by his interview with the Harveys, Mr. Lincoln was encouraged and strengthened in his purposes to take that important step.

A MOTHER'S PLEA

During the dark days of the Rebellion a telegram from the front was sent to a mother living in Minnesota, informing her that her youngest son, who had recently enlisted, had been court-martialed and sentenced to be shot for sleeping while on picket duty. It was not the first heartbreaking message she had received from the front during the three years of bloody strife and she had, by severe discipline, been chastened into a spirit of patriotic and religious submission to crushing bereavement. But this, as she believed, was beyond the limit of righteous submission, and with the heroism which characterized the womanhood of those days, she exclaimed, "They shall not shoot him," and started for Washington.

There were others there when she was ushered into President Lincoln's room, but she seemed unmindful of their presence. With perfect self-control, but with intense earnestness, she briefly recited her story to the great chieftain and calmly and confidently awaited his reply.

But when she discovered by his manner that he was disinclined to grant her request for her boy's pardon, she fell upon her knees at his feet, and seizing his hands in an agonizing mother's convulsive grasp, she cried:

"Mr. President, I cannot, I will not be denied! You must save my boy! His father and three brothers have given their lives to save the nation. Three have fallen on the field of battle and one, mortally wounded, died in the hospital. Then my youngest and only remaining son, although too young to be liable to draft, when the last of his brothers fell, promptly

took his place. When almost exhausted from three days and nights of a toilsome march, he was placed on picket duty, and because he was found sleeping at his post, they intend to shoot him like a dog! Mr. President, you must not permit them to do it. You must not, you will not permit my brave, heroic boy thus to be cruelly assassinated just because his youthful form was unequal to the burdens put upon him! Remember his fallen father and brothers, remember your own son, and save my boy!"

Those who witnessed the scene were deeply moved and were delighted when they saw the tender-hearted President press a handkerchief to his tearful eyes that he might see to write and sign the brave young soldier's pardon.

COURT IN A CORN-FIELD

The late Harvey Lee Ross of Oakland, California, was one of my true friends, and was always happy to converse about Abraham Lincoln, whom he had known quite intimately during his residence in Illinois. One of the many pleasing Lincoln stories he related to me is the following:

"I had a quarter section of land, two miles south of Macomb, that came to me from my father's estate. It was a fine quarter, but there was a little defect in the title, which could be remedied by the evidence of a man named Hagerty, who lived six miles west of Springfield and who knew the facts I wished to prove. I had noticed in the papers that court was in session at Springfield, and as court convened but twice a year I immediately started for that place, which was sixty miles from my home. I found my witness and took him with me. On arriving at Springfield, we went directly to Mr. Lincoln's office, which was over a store on the west side of the square. I think the office was about fourteen feet square and contained two tables, two bookcases and four or five chairs, while the floor was perfectly bare. I told Mr. Lincoln my business and showed him my title papers, which

he looked over and then remarked to me: 'I am sorry to have to tell you that you are a little too late, for this court adjourned this morning and does not convene again for six months, and Judge Thomas has gone home. He lives on his farm a mile east of the public square, but,' said he, 'we will go and see him and see if anything can be done for you.'

"I told him I would get a carriage and we would drive out, but he said, 'No; I can walk if you can.' I said I would just as soon walk as ride, and before we started he pulled off his coat and laid it on a chair, taking from the pocket a large bandana silk handkerchief to wipe the perspiration from his face, as it was a very warm day in August. He struck off across the public square in his shirt sleeves with the red handkerchief in one hand and my bundle of papers in the other, while my witness and I followed.

"We soon came to Judge Thomas's residence, which was a one-story frame house. Mr. Lincoln knocked at the door—at that time there were no doorbells—and the judge's wife came to the door. Mr. Lincoln asked if the judge was at home and she replied that he had gone to the north part of the farm, where they had a tenant house, to help his men put up a corncrib. She said if we went the main road it would be about a half mile, but we could cut across the cornfield and it would not be more than a quarter of a mile. Mr. Lincoln said if she would show us the path we would take the short cut, so she came out of the house and showed us where the path struck off across the field from their barn. We followed this path, Mr. Lincoln in the lead, and the witness and I following in Indian file, and soon came to where the judge and his men were raising a log house, about 12 by 20 feet in size, which was to serve as a corncrib and hog-house. Mr. Lincoln told Judge Thomas how I had come from Fulton county and brought my witness to town just after court had adjourned, and said he thought he would come out and see if anything could be done. The judge looked over the title papers and stated he guessed they could fix it

up, so he swore my witness, with whom he was acquainted, and procuring a pen and ink from his tenant fixed the papers.

"The judge and all the balance of us were in our shirt sleeves, and Mr. Lincoln remarked to the judge that it was a kind of shirt-sleeved court.

" 'Yes,' replied the judge, 'a shirt-sleeved court in a cornfield.' After the business had been transacted, Mr. Lincoln asked Judge Thomas if he did not want some help in rolling up the logs, and the judge replied that there were two logs that were pretty heavy and he would like to have us help roll them up. So before we left we helped roll the logs up, Mr. Lincoln steering one end and the judge the other. I offered to pay the judge for taking the deposition of my witness, but he said he guessed I had helped with the raising enough to pay for that and would take nothing for his work. When we got back to Lincoln's office in town I think we had walked at least three miles. Mr. Lincoln put my papers in a large envelope with the name 'Stuart & Lincoln' printed at the top. 'Now,' said he, 'when you go home put those papers on record and you will have a good title to your land.'

"I took out my pocketbook to pay him and supposed he would charge me about $10, as I knew he was always moderate in his charges. 'Now, Mr. Lincoln,' said I, 'how much shall I pay you for this work and the long walk through the hot sun and dust?' He paused for a moment and took the big silk handkerchief and wiped the perspiration off that was running down his face, and said: 'I guess I will not charge you anything for that. I will let it go on the old score.' When he said that it broke me all up, and I could not keep the tears from running down my face, for I could recall many instances where he had been so good and kind to me when I was carrying the mail; then for him to say he would charge me nothing for this work was more kindness than I could stand. I suppose what he meant by the old score was that I had occasionally helped him in his store and

post office and my father had assisted him some when he got the post office."

WORLD-WIDE FAME

"Several years after Lincoln's death (1874) the writer, then a student in Germany, was traveling in Switzerland. Arriving early one morning at the little village of Thusis, at the northern end of the Via Mala, he entered an inn for breakfast. As he seated himself at a table he was surprised and delighted to notice hanging on a wall directly in front of him, a fine engraving of Abraham Lincoln.

"It was like meeting an old friend and so far away from America, too, in that little place among the Alps, at the high mountains which are always covered with snow. The first thought was here is a Swiss gentleman who has lived in the United States and has brought this picture back home with him. So when the landlord entered, I said, 'Excuse me, sir, but have you not been in the United States?'

" 'No, indeed,' he replied, 'but why do you ask?'

" 'That picture of Lincoln,' I said; 'where did you get it?'

" 'Oh, that picture! Why I bought that at Lucerne. It is the only one in this Canton (county) and I would not sell it for forty gulden,' he exclaimed.

"Now thoroughly interested, I again asked, 'What made you buy it?' He answered very earnestly, 'Because I love the man and his principles. He was a great man. Were you ever in America?' he then asked.

" 'Oh, yes! I am an American,' I replied.

" 'What! a native-born American,' he exclaimed, reaching out his hand. 'Give me your hand. I am proud to meet a countryman of the great Lincoln,' he continued. 'Now you must stay with me and let me show you the points of interest about here.'

" 'You are very good,' said I, 'and since your love and reverence for Abraham Lincoln has prompted your kindness, in his name I thank you.'

"So presently we started and I enjoyed one of the happiest and most profitable days of my entire journey because I was a countryman of the good and great Lincoln. It was his life of kind deeds, his poverty and struggle, his honesty and truthfulness, and his final death for the cause of liberty and union of the states which, when off there, thousands of miles from America, had won for me this generous hospitality. The incident shows that a single character may ennoble and glorify a nation. A single name like magic secure consideration and protection to a race." [2]

WHERE THE WHETSTONE WAS

In 1834, when Lincoln was a candidate for the legislature, he called on a certain farmer to ask for his support. He found him in the hayfield, and was urging his cause when the dinner-bell sounded. The farmer invited him to dinner, but he declined politely, and added:

"If you will let me have the scythe while you are gone, I will mow around the field a couple of times."

When the farmer returned he found three rows neatly mowed. The scythe lay against the gate-post, but Lincoln had disappeared.

Nearly thirty years afterward the farmer and his wife, now grown old, were at a White House reception, and stood waiting in line to shake hands with the President. When they got near him in line, Lincoln saw them and calling an aide, told him to take them to one of the small parlors, where he would see them as soon as he got through the hand-shaking. Much surprised, the old couple were led away. Presently Mr. Lincoln came in, and greeting them with an outstretched hand and a warm smile, called them by name.

"Do you mean to say," exclaimed the farmer, "that you remember me after all these years?"

[2] Silas G. Pratt, Lincoln in Story, pp. 215, 217.

AS SEEN AND LOVED ABROAD

From a picture woven in silk in Switzerland in 1865, and now in Dr. Ervin Chapman's collection.

"I certainly do," said the President, and he went on to recall the day he had mowed round the farmer's timothy field.

"Yes, that's so," said the old man, still in astonishment. "I found the field mowed and the scythe leaning up against the gate-post, but I have always wanted to ask you, Mr. President, what you did with the whetstone?"

Lincoln smoothed his hair back from his brow a moment in deep thought; then his face lighted up.

"Yes, I do remember now," he said. "I put the whetstone on top of the high gate-post."

And when he got back to Illinois again the farmer found the whetstone on top of the gate-post, where it had lain for more than twenty-five years.

LED BY A CHILD

On April 11, 1865, Lincoln spoke from a window of the White House to a large and joyful crowd, gathered in honor of Lee's surrender. The President's speech was full of conciliation. Senator Harlan followed, and in the course of his remarks touched on the thought uppermost in everybody's mind. "What shall we do with the rebels?" he asked. A voice answered from the crowd, "Hang them!"

Lincoln's small son was in the room, playing with the pens on the table. Looking up he caught his father's pained expression.

"No, no, papa," he cried in his childish voice. "Not hang them. Hang *on* to them!"

"That is it! Tad has got it. We must hang on to them!" the President exclaimed in triumph.[8]

LINCOLN, THE LAWYER, ACTS AS A PASTOR

Visiting Captain Gilbert J. Greene at his home in Washingtonville, New York, I said: "Captain, what do you think of Lincoln's religion? There is evidence which satisfies me

[8] Helen Nicolay's Personal Traits of Abraham Lincoln, pp. 357, 358.

that he was a thoroughly religious man, and a Christian." He answered: "You are correct in your opinion. At one time in his life he was an unbeliever, and through life he held some religious views peculiar to himself, but in the cardinal doctrines of Christianity he was sound. One night he said to me, then a boy about nineteen, calling me by my first name, 'Gilbert, you have to stand at your printer's case all day and I have to sit all day, let us take a walk.' As we walked on the country road out of Springfield, he turned his eyes to the heavens full of stars, and told me their names and their distance from us and the swiftness of their motion. He said the ancients used to arrange them so as to make monsters, serpents, animals of one kind or another out of them, but, said he, 'I never behold them that I do not feel that I am looking in the face of God. I can see how it might be possible for a man to look down upon the earth and be an atheist, but I cannot conceive how he could look up into the heavens and say there is no God.' The information and inspiration received that night during the walk I shall never forget.

"One day he said to me, 'Gilbert, there is a woman dangerously sick living fifteen miles out in the country, who has sent for me to come and write her will. I should like to have you go along with me; I would enjoy your company, and the trip would be a little recreation for you.' I cheerfully accepted the invitation. We found the woman much worse than we expected. She had only a few hours to live. When Lincoln had written the will and it had been signed and witnessed, the woman said to him: 'Now, I have my affairs for this world arranged satisfactorily, I am thankful to say that long before this I have made preparation for the other life I am so soon to enter. I sought and found Christ as my Saviour, who has been my stay and comfort through the years and is now near to me to carry me over the river of death. I do not fear death; I am really glad that my time has come, for loved ones have gone before me and I rejoice in the hope of meeting them so soon.' Mr. Lincoln said to

her, 'Your faith in Christ is wise and strong, your hope of a future life is blessed. You are to be congratulated on passing through this life so usefully and into the future so happily.' She asked him if he would not read a few verses out of the Bible to her. They offered him the Book, but he did not take it, but began reciting from memory the 23rd Psalm, laying special emphasis upon 'Though I walk through the valley of the shadow of death, I will fear no evil, for thou art with me; thy rod and thy staff they comfort me." Without the Book he took up the first part of the 14th of John. 'In my Father's house are many mansions; if it were not so, I would have told you. I go to prepare a place for you. And if I go and prepare a place for you, I will come again, and receive you unto myself.' After he had given these and other quotations from the Scriptures he recited several hymns, closing with 'Rock of Ages, Cleft for Me.' I thought at the time I had never heard any elocutionist speak with such ease or power as he did. I am an old man now, but my heart melts as it did then in that death chamber, as I remember how, with almost divine pathos, he spoke the last stanza:

> "'While I draw this fleeting breath,
> When my eyes shall close in death,
> When I soar to worlds unknown,
> And behold Thee on Thy throne,
> Rock of Ages, cleft for me,
> Let me hide myself in Thee.'

"A little while after the woman passed to her reward. As we rode home in the buggy, I expressed surprise that he should have acted pastor as well as attorney so perfectly, and he replied, 'God and eternity were very near to me today.' "

In concluding the interview, I said to Captain Greene, "You have done the memory of the martyred President and the Christian public a service in opening this new window

on the religious side of Lincoln's nature. However much the mind may be tempted to doubt, there are times when the heart must believe. The religion of the dying woman and of the ministering attorney is the need of the universal heart and will become the religion of the world." [4]

THOUGHTFUL FOR OTHERS

Colonel W. H. Crook, President Lincoln's bodyguard, in "Memories of the White House," gives the following account of how it was made possible for Wilkes Booth to enter the President's box in Ford's Theater.

"The only time that President Lincoln failed to say good-night to me—when we parted after having been together for hours—was on the evening shortly before he started for Ford's Theater, where he was murdered. As I mentioned on another occasion, some years ago, Mr. Lincoln had told me that afternoon of a dream he had had for three successive nights, concerning his impending assassination. Of course, the constant dread of such a calamity made me somewhat nervous, and I almost begged him to remain in the Executive Mansion that night, and not to go to the theater. But he would not disappoint Mrs. Lincoln and others who were to be present. Then I urged that he allow me to stay on duty and accompany him; but he would not hear of this, either.

" 'No, Crook,' he said, kindly but firmly, 'you have had a long, hard day's work already, and must go home to sleep and rest. I cannot afford to have you get all tired out and exhausted.'

"It was then that he neglected, for the first and only time, to say good-night to me. Instead, he turned, with his kind, grave face, and said: 'Good-bye, Crook,' and went into his room.

"I thought of it at the moment; and a few hours later, when the awful news flashed over Washington that he had

[4] Rev. F. C. Iglehart, D.D., The Speaking Oak.

been shot, his last words were so burned into my memory that they never have been, and never can be forgotten.

"Although I have already stated the fact in print, I wish to repeat it here—that when Mr. and Mrs. Lincoln and their party sat in their box at Ford's Theater that fateful night, the guard who was acting as my substitute took his position at the rear of the box, close to an entrance leading into the box from the dress circle of the theater. His orders were to stand there, fully armed, and to permit no unauthorized person to pass into the box. His orders were to stand there and protect the President at all hazards.

"From the spot where he was thus stationed, this guard could not see the stage or the actors; but he could hear the words the actors spoke, and he became so interested in them that, incredible as it may seem, he quietly deserted his post of duty, and walking down the dimly-lighted side aisle, deliberately took a seat in the last row of the dress circle.

"It was while the President was thus absolutely unprotected through this guard's amazing recklessness—to use no stronger words—that Booth rushed through the entrance to the box, just deserted by the guard, and accomplished his foul deed. Realization of his part in the assassination so preyed upon the mind and spirit of the guard that he finally died as a result of it."

THE HIRED MAN

The *Northwestern Christian Advocate* is responsible for the following: "In the autumn of 1830, a traveling book peddler, who afterward became a successful publisher, and the head of a firm whose name is well known in the United States today, came to the door of a log cabin on a farm in eastern Illinois, and asked for the courtesy of a night's lodging. There was no inn near. The good wife was hospitable but perplexed, 'for,' said she, 'we can feed your beast but we can't lodge you unless you are willing to sleep with the hired man.' 'Let's have a look at him first,' said the peddler. The woman

pointed to the side of the house, where a lank, six-foot man, in ragged but clean clothes, was stretched on the grass reading a book. 'He'll do,' said the stranger. 'A man who reads a book as hard as that fellow seems to, has got too much else to think of besides my watch or my small change.'

"The hired man was Abraham Lincoln; and when he was President the two met in Washington and laughed together over the story of their early rencontre."

WATCHED WITH A DYING SOLDIER

One of the prettiest stories told of Abraham Lincoln is that, on visiting a military hospital, he stood at the bedside of a Vermont boy of about sixteen years of age, who was mortally wounded. Taking the dying boy's thin, white hand in his own, the President said in a tender tone, "Well, my poor boy, what can I do for you?"

The young fellow looked up into the President's kindly face, and asked: "Won't you write to my mother for me?"

"That I will," answered Mr. Lincoln, and calling for a pen, ink and paper, he seated himself by the side of the bed and wrote from the boy's dictation. It was a long letter, but the President betrayed no signs of weariness. When it was finished he arose, saying, "I will post this as soon as I get back to my office. Now, is there anything else I can do for you?"

The boy looked up appealingly to the President. "Won't you stay with me?" he asked. "I do want to hold on to your hand." Mr. Lincoln at once perceived the lad's meaning. The appeal was too strong for him to resist, so he sat down by his side, and took hold of his hand. For two hours the President sat there patiently as though he had been the boy's father. When the end came, he bent over and folded the thin hands over his breast. As he did so, he burst into tears, and when, soon after, he left the hospital, they were still streaming down his cheeks.

THREE TERRORS

"One day, shortly before the issue of the Emancipation Proclamation, a visitor, finding Mr. Lincoln evidently in melancholy mood, said to him, 'Mr. President, I am very sorry to find you not feeling so well as at my last visit.'

"Mr. Lincoln replied: 'Yes, I am troubled. One day the best of our friends from the border States come in and insist that I shall not issue an Emancipation Proclamation, and that, if I do so, the border States will virtually cast in their lot with the Southern Confederacy. Another day, Charles Sumner, Thad Stevens, and Ben Wade come in and insist that if I do not issue such a proclamation the North will be utterly discouraged and the Union wrecked—and, by the way, these three men are coming in this very afternoon.' At this moment his expression changed, his countenance lighted up, and he said to the visitor, who was from the West, 'Mr. ——, did you ever go to a prairie school?'

" 'No,' said the visitor, 'I never did.'

" 'Well,' said Mr. Lincoln, 'I did, and it was a very poor school, and we were very poor folks—too poor to have regular reading books, and so we brought our Bibles and read from them. One morning the chapter was from the Book of Daniel, and a little boy who sat next me went all wrong in pronouncing the names of Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego. The teacher had great difficulty in setting him right, and before he succeeded was obliged to scold the boy and cuff him for his stupidity. The next verse came to me, and so the chapter went along down the class. Presently it started on its way back, and soon after I noticed that the little fellow began crying. On this I asked him, 'What's the matter with you?' and he answered, 'Don't you see? Them three miserable cusses are coming back to me again!' " [8]

[8] Autobiography of Andrew D. White, Vol. II., p. 127.

FRANKLY CONFESSED HIS FAULT

The following is from the pen of D. H. Mitchell: "Soon after the outbreak of hostilities a hot-blooded, fire-eating young man, a son of members of Dr. Gurley's church, in Washington, D. C., made his way through our lines and enlisted in the Confederate Army. The fortunes of war threw him into our hands as a prisoner. It was deemed best to make an example of him, and he was consequently court-martialed and sentenced to be shot. Dr. Gurley interested himself in the young man's behalf and secured a commutation of the sentence. A short time after, the father of the boy came to Dr. Gurley and solicited his aid to obtain a pardon. Dr. Gurley strongly advised against the effort. He pointed out that the young man's life had been saved by the President and that it would be extremely unwise and imprudent to apply for a pardon so soon. The father replied that he felt so himself, but that his wife took on so about her son that he feared she would lose her mind if something were not done. 'I must,' said he, 'make the attempt on his mother's account. It is better to fail than not to try.' Consequently Dr. Gurley signed the petition for a pardon and the father took it to President Lincoln.

"When the father made known his errand the President said with great earnestness: 'I saved the life of your son after he had been condemned to be shot; and now you come here so soon when you know I am overwhelmed with care and anxiety asking for his pardon. You should have been content with what I have done. Go; and if you annoy me any more I shall feel it my duty to consider whether I ought not to recall what I have already done.'

"A few days later the President sent for the father, apologized for the way he had spoken to him, and, to his utter astonishment, handed him a pardon.

"Not long after, and before knowing what had transpired, Dr. Gurley met the President. Having transacted his business,

he was about to go when Mr. Lincoln said: 'By the way, Doctor, you signed the petition for Mr. ———'s son's pardon, didn't you?'

"The Doctor replied that he had done so, but explained that he had advised against making the application at that time, and that he was induced to sign it only by the statement of the father that he feared his wife would lose her mind if something were not done to relieve her. The President then remarked: 'Well, Mr. ——— came to me with the petition. It made me very angry and I dismissed him roughly. Afterward I felt so ashamed of myself for having lost my temper that I made out a pardon for the man and gave it to him.' And then, after a pause and with a broad smile, he added:

" 'Ah, Doctor! these wives of ours have the inside track on us, don't they?' "

LINCOLN AT A SALOON DOOR

Rev. John Talmadge Bergen, D.D., relates the following, which at the present time is of special interest:

"Some years ago at a Lincoln meeting among the old soldiers of a Michigan city, one of the battle-worn veterans gave the following testimony: 'We have heard what Lincoln has done for all of us. I want to tell you what he did for me. I was a private in one of the western regiments that arrived first in Washington after the call for 75,000. We were marching through the city amid great crowds of cheering people, and then, after going into camp, were given leave to see the town.

" 'Like many other of our boys, the saloon or tavern was the first thing we hit. With my comrade I was just about to go into the door of one of these places, when a hand was laid upon my arm, and looking up, there was President Lincoln from his great height above me, a mere lad, regarding me with those kindly eyes and pleasant smile.

" 'I almost dropped with surprise and bashfulness, but he

held out his hand, and as I took it he shook hands in strong Western fashion and said: "I don't like to see our uniform going into these places." That was all he said. He turned immediately, and walked away and we passed on. We would not have gone into that tavern for all the wealth of Washington City.

"'And that is what Abraham Lincoln did then and there for me. He fixed me so that whenever I go near a saloon and in any way think of entering, his words and face come back to me. That experience has been a means of salvation to my life. Today I hate the saloon, and have hated it ever since I heard those words from that great man.'"

CLEAN HANDS

One day a stranger called to secure Lincoln's services. "State your case," said Lincoln. A history of the case was given, when Lincoln astonished him by saying, "I cannot serve you, for you are wrong, and the other party is right."

"That is none of your business, if I hire and pay you for taking the case," said the man.

"Not my business!" exclaimed Lincoln. "My business is never to defend wrong, even if I am a lawyer. I never undertake a case that is manifestly wrong."

"Not for any amount of pay?" continued the stranger.

"Not for all you are worth," replied Lincoln.—*H. H. Smith, Kinsale, Va.*

SHOT THROUGH HIS HAT

John W. Nichols, President Lincoln's bodyguard at the Soldiers' Home, near Washington, gives the following account of the President's narrow escape from assassination in August, 1864:

"One night I was doing sentry duty at the large gate through which entrance was had to the grounds of the Soldiers' Home, near Washington, where Mr. Lincoln spent much time

in summer. About eleven o'clock I heard a rifle-shot in the direction of the city, and shortly afterwards I heard approaching hoof-beats. In two or three minutes a horse came dashing up, and I recognized the belated President. The horse he rode was a very spirited one, and was Mr. Lincoln's saddle horse. As horse and rider approached the gate, I noticed that the President was bareheaded. As soon as I had assisted him in checking his steed, the President said to me: 'He came pretty near getting away with me, didn't he? He got the bit in his teeth before I could draw the rein.'

"I then asked him where his hat was; and he replied that somebody had fired a gun off down at the foot of the hill, and that his horse had become scared and had jerked his hat off. I led the animal to the Executive Cottage and the President dismounted and entered. Thinking the affair rather strange, a corporal and myself started off to investigate. When we reached the place whence the sound of the shot had come—a point where the driveway intersects with the main road—we found the President's hat. It was a plain, silk hat, and upon examination we discovered a bullet-hole through the crown. We searched the locality thoroughly, but without avail. Next day I gave Mr. Lincoln his hat, and called his attention to the bullet-hole. He made some humorous remark, to the effect that it was made by some foolish marksman and was not intended for him; but added that he wished nothing said about the matter. We all felt confident that it was an attempt to kill the President, and after that he never rode alone."

COURAGEOUS FIDELITY

Hon. Joshua R. Giddings by his forceful personality, superior intellectual endowments, physical and moral courage, and undeviating loyalty to freedom, attained first place among the antislavery leaders of the period preceding the election of Abraham Lincoln as President in 1860. His twenty years'

services as a member of Congress from the famous Western Reserve district in Ohio, and his many heroic battles with the pro-slavery forces in Congress and elsewhere, gave peculiar weight to an amendment of the platform proposed by him in the Chicago convention declaring that "all men are created equal." That amendment, however, after discussion, was disapproved of by the convention as unnecessary, to the regret of those who favored it, and especially of Mr. Giddings, who expressed his disappointment and displeasure by withdrawing from the convention.

But before he left the Wigwam, in which the convention was held, the veteran antislavery champion was overtaken and informed that under the leadership of George William Curtis the convention had revised its decision and adopted his amendment. This action was a great joy to Mr. Giddings, who thereupon returned and resumed his seat as a delegate in the convention, which on the following day nominated Abraham Lincoln as its candidate for President.

All this was made a matter of record, but not until after Mr. Lincoln's death was it generally known that he, though at Springfield, was a participant in the efforts to secure the adoption of the Giddings amendment. Immediately after the defeat of that amendment, a telegram was sent Mr. Lincoln, saying: "Convention has just voted down the Giddings amendment. What can we do?"

To this Mr. Lincoln promptly replied: "Party rejecting the principles of the Declaration of Independence will go to pieces. Have a recess, reconsider amendment. Time and reflection will restore men's reason and bring better judgment." This message from Mr. Lincoln was in the hall when Mr. Curtis finished his speech for the amendment and as the crisis seemed to be passed it was not presented. It was, however, a fine illustration of Mr. Lincoln's courageous fidelity to his convictions.

REFUSED TO PLEDGE

Quite as illustrative as the foregoing, of Mr. Lincoln's great courage and wisdom, is the following from the Hon. John B. Alley, a prominent member of Congress from Massachusetts:

"The evening before the balloting in the Chicago convention, a telegram was sent Mr. Lincoln by his trusted friends in Chicago, stating that his chances for securing the nomination depended upon the votes of two delegations in the convention which were named in the dispatch, and that to secure this support he must pledge himself, if elected, to give places in his Cabinet to the heads of those delegations.

"Mr. Lincoln immediately replied: 'I authorize no bargains and will be bound by none.' "

SEEKS FELLOWSHIP IN PRAYER WITH BEECHER

Mr. Samuel Scoville, Jr., of Philadelphia, a grandson of Henry Ward Beecher, is responsible for the following, which he received from his grandmother, Mr. Beecher's widow:

"Following the disaster of Bull Run, when the strength and resources of the nation seemed to have been wasted, the hopes of the North were at their lowest ebb, and Mr. Lincoln was well-nigh overwhelmed with the awful responsibility of guiding the nation in its life struggle. Henry Ward Beecher, of Brooklyn, was perhaps more prominently associated with the cause of the North at that time than any other minister of the gospel. He had preached and lectured and fought its battles in pulpit and press all over the country, had ransomed slaves from his pulpit, and his convictions and feelings were everywhere known.

"Late one evening a stranger called at the home of Mr. Beecher and asked to see him. Mr. Beecher was working alone in his study, as was his custom, and this stranger refused to send up his name, and came muffled in a military cloak

which completely hid his face. Mrs. Beecher's suspicions were aroused, and she was very unwilling that he should have the interview which he requested, especially as Mr. Beecher's life had been frequently threatened by sympathizers with the South. The latter, however, insisted that his visitor be shown up. Accordingly, the stranger entered, the doors were shut, and for hours the wife below could hear their voices and their footsteps as they paced back and forth. Finally, toward midnight, the mysterious visitor went out, still muffled in his cloak, so that it was impossible to gain any idea of his features.

"The years went by, the war was finished, the President had suffered martyrdom at his post, and it was not until shortly before Mr. Beecher's death, over twenty years later, that he made known that the mysterious stranger who had called on that stormy night was Abraham Lincoln. The stress and strain of those days and nights of struggle, with all the responsibilities and sorrows of a nation fighting for its life resting upon him, had broken his strength, and for a time undermined his courage. He had traveled alone in disguise and at night from Washington to Brooklyn, to gain the sympathy and help of one whom he knew as a man of God, engaged in the same great battle in which he was the leader. Alone for hours that night, like Jacob of old, the two had wrestled together in prayer with the God of battles and the Watcher over the right until they had received the help which He had promised to those that seek His aid."

This story has been vigorously denied and as vigorously defended. That it was originally told by Mrs. Henry Ward Beecher cannot be questioned. Mr. Scoville, who first published it, declares that in his opinion it is true, and Dr. William J. Johnson, author of "Abraham Lincoln—the Christian," informed me that after thorough investigation he fully believed it to be authentic and truthful.

This seemingly strange event in Mr. Lincoln's life is in perfect accord with his religious belief and his deeper spiritual

HENRY WARD BEECHER

With whom President Lincoln sought fellowship in prayer.

nature. That profound sense of dependence upon God and faith in prayer which he expressed so many times and with such clearness, caused him, as already stated, to solicit callers at the White House whom he held in especially high esteem, like Bishops Simpson and Janes, Major Merwin and others, to kneel with him in supplication and prayer.

And apart from the journey from Washington to Brooklyn, this event related by Mrs. Beecher was not unlike those requests for prayer in the Executive Mansion. Mr. Lincoln's well known regard for Henry Ward Beecher would certainly cause him to yearn for his companionship at the altar of intercession at a time of great and peculiar national peril. Mr. Beecher's early and heroic espousal of the antislavery cause and his matchless eloquence in denouncing slavery attracted Mr. Lincoln's attention and awakened his admiration before he had himself become widely known. He was a constant reader of *The Independent* while Mr. Beecher was its editor, and on both of the Sundays he spent in New York during his Cooper Institute and New England speaking tour, he crossed over to Brooklyn to hear Beecher preach.

During his Presidency, Mr. Lincoln very earnestly besought Beecher, during a contemplated European trip, to make a series of addresses in England on behalf of the great struggle to preserve the Union. This request Mr. Beecher at first declined, but at length accepted, performing the task assigned him in a manner unparalleled in human history.

And so high was Mr. Lincoln's estimate of Beecher's oratorical powers and his appreciation of his services to the nation and to the cause of human freedom that when the flag was to be restored to Fort Sumter, the President made special request that the great preacher be chosen to deliver the address upon that important occasion. It is, therefore, reasonable that when overwhelmed by a realization of the nation's perils, the great Chieftain should quietly seek the seclusion of the upper chamber in Brooklyn to spend a season in prayer with

the man of God whom he held in such high esteem and for whom he cherished such ardent personal affection.

Upon the scene of this unique event there rests a halo of celestial beauty too sacred to be regarded with indifference or doubt.

A SLAVE-MOTHER'S PRAYER

The following from the late Dr. Booker T. Washington is peculiarly interesting and pathetic: "My first knowledge of Abraham Lincoln came in this way: I was awakened early one morning before the dawn of day, as I lay wrapped in a bundle of rags on the dirt floor of our slave cabin, by the prayers of my mother. It was just before she left for her day's work and she was kneeling over me earnestly praying that Abraham Lincoln might succeed and that one day she and her boy might be free."

A SCOFFER WEEPS

Dr. Edward Eggleston, in the following, tells how a jolly friend of Mr. Lincoln in Springfield succeeded in bantering him about an event that occurred while he was in New York City to deliver the Cooper Institute speech:

"He started for 'Old Abe's' office, but bursting open the door impulsively, found a stranger in conversation with Mr. Lincoln. He turned to retrace his steps, when Lincoln called out, 'Jim! what do you want?' 'Nothing.' 'Yes, you do; come back.'

"After some entreaty, 'Jim' approached Mr. Lincoln, and remarked with a twinkle in his eye, 'Well, Abe, I see you have been making a speech to Sunday School children. What's the matter?'

" 'Sit down, Jim, and I'll tell you all about it. When Sunday morning came, I didn't know exactly what to do. Mr. Washburne asked me where I was going. I told him I had nowhere to go; and he proposed to take me down to the Five Points Sunday School, to show me something worth seeing. I

was very much interested by what I saw. Presently Mr. Pease came up and spoke to Mr. Washburne, who introduced me. Mr. Pease wanted us to speak. Washburne spoke, and then I was urged to speak. I told them I did not know anything about talking to Sunday Schools, but Mr. Pease said many of the children were friendless and homeless, and that a few words would do them good. Washburne said I must talk. And so I rose to speak; but I tell you, Jim, I didn't know what to say. I remembered that Mr. Pease said they were homeless and friendless, and I thought of the time when I had been pinched by terrible poverty. And so I told them that I had been poor; that I remembered when my toes stuck out through my broken shoes in winter; when my arms were out at the elbows; when I shivered with the cold. And I told them there was only one rule; that was, always to do the very best you can. I told them that I had always tried to do the very best I could; and that, if they would follow that rule, they would get along, somehow. That was about what I said. And when I got through, Mr. Pease said it was just the thing they needed. And when the school was dismissed, all the teachers came up and shook hands with me, and thanked me; although I did not know that I had been saying anything of any account.

" 'But the next morning I saw my remarks noticed in the papers.' Just here Mr. Lincoln put his hand in his pocket, and remarked that he had never heard anything that touched him as had the songs which those children sang. With that he drew forth a little book, saying that they had given him one of the books from which they sang. He began to read a piece with all the earnestness of his great, earnest soul. In the middle of the second verse his friend 'Jim' felt a choking in his throat and a tickling in his nose. At the beginning of the third verse he saw that the stranger was weeping, and his own tears fell fast. Turning toward Lincoln, who was reading straight on, he saw the great, blinding tears in his eyes, so that he could not possibly see the pages. He was

repeating that little song from memory. How often he had read it, or how long its sweet and simple accents continued to reverberate through his soul, no one can know."

ROOT, HOG, OR DIE!

The following story is just as Lincoln told it but not as it is usually published.

The morning after the return of President Lincoln and Secretary Seward from their conference with the Confederate Commissioners at Hampton Roads, General James M. Ashley, Congressman from Ohio, called at the White House and found Mr. Lincoln in exuberant spirits. The President held General Ashley in high esteem and was always very free with him in conversation. Hence, on that February morning, after the President's return from Hampton Roads, he talked with unrestrained freedom to the Ohio Congressman respecting the Hampton Roads affair.

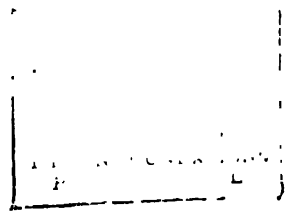
Within an hour after his delightful interview with the President, General Ashley was in his office in the Capitol and gave to me, his private secretary, a full account of what had taken place between the President and him. Many times during the half century that has passed since then have I thought of the General's high glee as he rehearsed to me the statements made by Mr. Lincoln. But especially gleeful was he, when he suddenly sprang from his chair, and said:

"And 'Old Abe' told them a story, and it was the best of anything I have heard for many a day." And then, that he might be at his best, for he was himself a famous story-teller, he remained standing, his magnificent form being repeatedly convulsed with laughter as he dramatically told, fresh from the President's lips, the story he had by strong persuasion prevailed upon him to relate. That story as it was then given to me and carefully noted down at the time, is as follows:

In all the negotiations at Hampton Roads the Confederate

DAVID R. LOCKE

Whose humorous Nasby writings were read and greatly enjoyed by President Lincoln. The copy of the Nasby book which the President read, was given to Mr. Locke after Lincoln's death with "A. Lincoln" written many times upon its paper cover. From a photograph by Brady taken in the author's presence, and now in his collection.



Commissioners wrought with tireless diligence to secure terms of peace without any interference with the institution of slavery. Respecting this, Mr. Lincoln was unyielding and stated that not one word of the Emancipation Proclamation could be retracted, and that Congress had just voted by the requisite two-thirds majority to submit to the several states a constitutional amendment, which, if adopted, by three-fourths of the states, as he was very sure it would be, would forever prohibit slavery in the nation.

At this point, Mr. Hunter of Virginia, one of the Confederate Commissioners, interrupted the President by saying: "There is one feature of this matter which I fear the Government and the people of the United States do not properly appreciate. They should remember, as they seem not to do, that the white people of the South never have been accustomed to manual labor. They have not the physical strength and power of endurance to perform such labor, and they have no knowledge of the methods by which a living can be secured by handicraft of any kind. Now, if their slaves are taken from them, those Negroes, thus suddenly freed, would not be willing, at any reasonable price if at all, to become the hired servants of the people who had owned and controlled them as slaves. What then would become of this great population of high-spirited white people of the South? How could they subsist if their slaves are taken from them?"

Mr. Lincoln remained silent that this argument might be answered by his Secretary of State. But as Mr. Seward seemed unable successfully to meet this new and seemingly strong objection, the President said:

"I do not pretend, Mr. Hunter, to know conditions in the South nearly as well as they are known by you, but what you say reminds me of an incident that occurred quite a number of years ago in Illinois. A farmer there by the name of Case, who was ambitious to raise a large number of hogs, decided to fatten his porkers upon turnips instead of corn. He, therefore, at a time when his turnips were full grown and juicy,

turned his herd of hogs into the large field and permitted them to eat without restraint. This worked finely and saved the farmer the trouble and expense of harvesting the turnips and of feeding them to the hogs.

"One day, as he was standing watching what was going on in the field of turnips, a neighbor came along and said: 'This looks very well now, Mr. Case, but you must remember that winter comes early, and the ground freezes as hard as a rock, twelve inches or more in depth. Then, what are the hogs going to do?'

"This was a phase of the matter which Mr. Case had not considered, and dropping his head as if in deep meditation, he remained silent for a brief time and then with emphasis replied: 'Well, it may be hard on their snouts, but I guess it will have to be root, hog, or die!' "

This story was effective in settling that question with those commissioners, and also in producing a feeling of exultation among the loyal people to whom it soon became known.

I never saw General Ashley laugh with greater heartiness and abandon than when he related this story to me in his office just after it had been given to him by the President. And the story spread like a prairie fire, and was greeted with great gratification and merriment by the people of strong anti-slavery sentiments. Many times did I hear it told, and it was always received by peals of laughter.

Unfortunately, as I think, for history and for the effectiveness of this characteristic exhibition of Mr. Lincoln's force and exhaustless fund of illustration, this story has been so changed as to cause Mr. Hunter's expression of solicitude to be for the colored people of the South, who, always having been cared for by their masters, as Mr. Hunter is reported to have said, would be unable properly to live without such care. But this change is false to history and causes the whole scene, including the illustration itself, to appear flat and insignificant. Strange indeed would it have been for Mr. Hunter to present such a plea for the colored people by whose

toil the white population had been supported and made rich. Stranger still would it have been for Mr. Seward, the ready and resourceful debater, to be silenced by such an argument instead of being aroused instantly to an expression of confidence in the ability of the colored people to provide for their own needs since they had wrought so effectively for the support and wealth of their masters.

And most remarkable of all would it have been for Mr. Lincoln to have replied to a slave holder's plea for the continuance of slavery by a story at the expense of the Negro slaves. It was, however, characteristic of Mr. Lincoln thus to turn the tables upon those with whom he was in argument, and this story was part of an argument he was holding with a white advocate of slavery. Because Mr. Hunter's plea was for the white people of the South who would be helpless, as he claimed, without their slaves, the story was overwhelming in its effect and closed the consideration of the slavery question. When applied as it was to those who, it was claimed, would not be competent to provide for their needs without the aid of the Negro slaves, the story was true to the facts in the case; slave holders were unaccustomed to manual labor and were unschooled in such work. It was unusually severe for Mr. Lincoln, yet not discourteous, but it would have been cruel if Mr. Hunter's plea had been for the colored slaves, who were not represented at that conference and were not themselves asking for any favors save the freedom which had been promised them by the voluntary action of the government. Doubly cruel would that story have been if it had been applied to the colored slaves, every one of whom, as far as known, was loyal and true to the Union during all the years of the Civil War, and tens of thousands of whom had fought heroically in the Union army.

Mr. Lincoln's story derived peculiar force from the fact that the slave-holding population of the South had come to regard labor as degrading, and some of their leaders had characterized laboring people, whether black or white, as the

"mud-sills of society." This was indignantly resented by the people of the North who at the time this story was told by Mr. Lincoln would not have relished any joke at the expense of the colored slaves, but were greatly pleased to have the President so effectively remind the slave holders of the divine decree that man should eat bread in the sweat of his own face. There was at that time intense feeling on this subject and the antislavery people were happy at the prospect of such a change of conditions as would require all to toil or suffer want.

It was this which caused the story to be so popular at the time and to produce such merriment wherever it was read or related; and I am more than happy to have preserved it in its original form and to hand it on as an authentic contribution to the history of that crisis period. I have not the slightest inclination to say aught that will reflect unfavorably upon those who were formerly yoked with the institution of slavery, many of whom were unwillingly connected with that institution, having inherited slaves from their ancestors, and many of whom sought to be helpful to their slaves in morality and religion. But I have long felt that this story-argument by President Lincoln should go into history in the form in which it was first given to the public and in the form in which it has significance and force.

A PATCHWORK QUILT—HOW IT ANSWERED LINCOLN'S PRAYER

On a clear, cold Christmas morning, before the election of Abraham Lincoln as President, young David Durand awakened in his New England home to find his bed covered by an exquisitely beautiful patchwork quilt, made by his mother, and by her spread upon his bed while he was asleep. It was a Christmas gift to her beloved boy, and after that morning it was always on his bed in the old home.

The blocks of the quilt were of uniform pattern, but the

small pieces of which those blocks were composed were of great variety of color, figure and combination. Young Durand was peculiarly fond of this quilt, which always reminded him of his loving mother's solicitude for him. It was the last object seen by him at night, and the first that greeted his vision when the morning came. He admired the skill with which the small fragments of many garments had been, by dextrous needlework, formed into shapely blocks, which, in like manner, were united to produce this cherished covering for his bed.

He noted the chaste and æsthetic association of colors, and the pleasing harmony which prevailed throughout the quilt, and thus in his receptive nature this product of his mother's industry and skill became a potent factor for his growth and culture in the highest qualities of worthy manhood. It aided him to appreciate her rare domestic genius and accomplishments; to call to mind and meditate upon her loving ministrations; to realize the cost and value of his earthly comforts, and to cherish an exalted purpose to be worthy of his priceless heritage. In the quiet of the evening hour, and in the darkness of the night, that patchwork quilt was more than a needed and appreciated covering for his bed, it was a silent evangel of God to his expanding soul.

But when the great war came, David responded to the call for troops, and as a member of the 10th Connecticut Volunteers he quickly reached the front and entered upon the hardships and dangers of army life.

When the magnitude and severity of the struggle came to be realized it was discovered that the Government, suddenly called to defend the nation's life, could not by existing methods provide for all the needs of sick and wounded soldiers and sailors, and hence in June, 1861, the Sanitary Commission was organized to supplement the work of the United States Medical Bureau. It was supported by money and supplies contributed by the people of every loyal state in the Union. It had its own independent system of transportation and was

able to provide for emergencies on battlefields and in hospitals in advance of any relief which the Government could afford.

To one of the directors of this beneficent organization, President Lincoln gave the following account of its origin: "One rainy night I could not sleep; the wounds of the soldiers and sailors distressed me; their pains pierced my heart, and I asked God to show me how they could have better relief. After wrestling some time in prayer, He put the plans of the Sanitary Commission in my mind, and they have been carried out pretty much as God gave them to me that night."

Soon after David's enlistment an agent of this Commission called at his Connecticut home to solicit contributions for the Army and Navy Hospitals. The hearts of his parents were made especially responsive to this call by remembrance of their own soldier-boy, and one of their contributions was the patchwork quilt which they took from David's bed, and sent forth upon its mission of loving ministration.

"It is hard to part with that quilt," said Mrs. Durand, "for it is a constant reminder of David. It was always on his bed and he seemed to love it dearly. I shall miss it, especially when I am in his room, but it will do more good in the Army Hospitals than here and I will make another quilt for David, when he comes home."

Without any request as to where it should be sent, without any thought of such a request, these godly parents, with some hesitation it is true, but with Christian cheerfulness, took that cherished quilt and sent it forth with the prayer that, under God, it might be helpful to some suffering soldier as it had given joy and comfort to the beloved one who had gone out from his home at his country's call. And He, "who is able to do exceeding abundantly above all that we ask or think," heard the prayer that silently arose from that mother's heart, and Christmas morning, 1862, in an Army Hospital away down in Newbern, North Carolina, David awakened from a feverish sleep to find himself lying beneath the patch-

work quilt which for years had covered his bed at home. For a time he was bewildered by this seeming apparition. He remembered that during the preceding day his illness was attended by delirium, and he was apprehensive that what he saw was not reality, but only a mental vision which investigation would speedily dispel.

With quick and nervous movements he sat erect in bed, and seizing the beautiful covering in his hands, closely scanned each block only to be assured that it was none other than the quilt his mother made and spread upon his bed that Christmas morning long ago. There was the block composed of pieces from the dresses his mother wore, and near by, in like arrangement, were the familiar fragments of his sister's prints and plaids. And there, also, too unique ever to be forgotten or duplicated, was the block his dear old grandmother had "pieced" from materials she had selected for her own attire. Each block in the quilt was a valid mark of identification, and trembling with intense excitement he called the hospital steward and said, "Where did you get this quilt?"

Observing his excitement, the steward calmly answered, "I got it in the storeroom where such supplies are kept. Why do you ask?"

"I ask," the agitated soldier almost shouted, "because this quilt was made by my mother for my bed at home. It is the very same one. I know it is. The last night I spent at home I slept under it as I had done for years, and when I left for the front this quilt was on my bed in Derby, Connecticut. How, then, did it come to be here, in this Army Hospital, hundreds of miles from my home, and how did it come to be here on my cot? Was it sent to me? And did you, knowing it was mine, have it spread upon my cot while I was asleep? Tell me, please, how did it all come about?"

But the steward could give no satisfactory answers to these questions which came in rapid succession, like shots from a repeating rifle. The quilt, he said, had come with other supplies contributed by the people, and without any

knowledge of its history, it had been placed upon that cot, when, on the preceding day, David was admitted to the hospital. Beyond that, the steward could give him no information.

But He who said, "Cast thy bread upon the waters for thou shalt find it after many days," knew all about it.

And for some great and good purpose of His own, He had taken from that mother's trembling hands her contribution to the Sanitary Commission, and by process of His own choosing, had conveyed it all the way from Connecticut to that Army Hospital. And during the night preceding that Christmas morning He had caused the quilt to be spread upon the cot on which that mother's fever-stricken and delirious boy was sleeping.

It was a little opening in the curtains that conceals from view the infinite realm in which are constantly conducted the operations by which the grace of God ministers to human needs. There is just enough of such disclosures of Divine oversight to give assurance that in all things, and at all times, our heavenly Father is caring for His children and is making more effective than we have dared to hope, all our efforts to promote His cause and to help our fellowmen.

After his brief illness, young Durand informed his parents that he had discovered his favorite quilt in an Army Hospital, and asked if they could explain its being there. To this letter his father made prompt reply, as follows:

"You speak of seeing a bed-quilt at the Hospital that you thought you knew. Most likely, for your mother gave a quilt, a woollen blanket, a pair of sheets, and some table-cloths for old linen. The quilt was the one you used to sleep under at home. It must have looked like an old friend in a strange land."

HIS LAST PICTURE

"About the last of February, 1865, Mr. H. F. Warren, a photographer of Waltham, Mass., left home, intending, if

practicable, to visit the army in front of Richmond and Petersburg. Arriving in Washington on the morning of the 4th of March, and finding it necessary to procure passes to carry out the end he had in view, he concluded to remain there until the inauguration ceremonies were over, and, having carried with him all the apparatus necessary for taking negatives, he decided to try to secure a sitting from the President.

"At that time rumors of plots and dangers had caused the friends of President Lincoln to urge upon him the necessity of a guard, and, as he had finally permitted the presence of such a body, an audience with him was somewhat difficult. On the afternoon of the 6th of March, Mr. Warren sought a presentation to Mr. Lincoln, but found, after consulting with the guard, that an interview could be had on that day in only a somewhat irregular manner. After some conversation with the officer in charge, who became convinced of his loyalty, Mr. Warren was admitted within the lines, and, at the same time, was given to understand that the surest way to obtain an audience with the President was through the intercession of his little son 'Tad.' The latter was a great pet with the soldiers, and was constantly at their barracks, and soon made his appearance, mounted upon his pony. He and the pony were soon placed in position and photographed, after which Mr. Warren asked 'Tad' to tell his father that a man had come all the way from Boston, and was particularly anxious to see him and obtain a sitting from him. 'Tad' went to see his father, and word was soon returned that Mr. Lincoln would comply. In the meantime Mr. Warren had improvised a kind of studio upon the south balcony of the White House. Mr. Lincoln soon came out, and saying but a very few words, took his seat as indicated. After a single negative was taken, he inquired: 'Is that all, sir?' Unwilling to detain him longer than was absolutely necessary, Mr. Warren replied, 'Yes, sir,' and the President immediately withdrew. At the time he appeared upon the balcony the wind was blowing freshly, as his disarranged hair indicates,

and, as sunset was rapidly approaching, it was difficult to obtain a sharp picture. Six weeks later Mr. Lincoln was dead, and it is doubtless true that this is the last photograph ever made of him."*

In no picture of Mr. Lincoln which I have seen is there more expression than in this, but it is expression peculiar to this photograph. It reveals his feelings at the time the negative was taken, not irritation but repressed regret at having been interrupted and taken away from work. The poise of his head, his knit brows, and piercing eye all indicate the feelings of a busy man yielding reluctantly to a request he is unwilling to refuse. Dear little "Tad!" we are indebted to him for this priceless picture.

ONE LETTER WRONG

Abraham Lincoln was first inaugurated President on the 4th of March, 1861. During the winter preceding that event he prepared, at Springfield, with very great care, his exceedingly able inaugural address which effectively forecast his entire administration and left those who were enlisting in rebellion no excuse for the course they were pursuing. He also called a special session of Congress to meet on the Fourth of July following his inauguration. A brief message outlining the immediate needs of the government was presented at that special session.

The regular annual meeting of Congress occurred on the 3rd of December, 1861, and to this session of Congress the President presented his first regular message. There was a fact connected with this message which seemed, at the time, to attract very little attention, but it is so peculiar and suggestive that in my opinion it should have a place in history. It would be difficult for one not living in this country at that time to realize the extent to which strife and contention prevailed among loyal people of the nation during the period

* Century Magazine, Vol. 2, p. 852.

between the President's inauguration on the 4th of March and the presentation of his first regular message to Congress in December.

Early in an administration many appointments to office are made by the President. This always leads to contention and strife, and at the time referred to this contention was far greater than usual, for, with the change of Presidents, there was also a change of the party in power which leads to the removal of many who were holding office, and of the filling of their places by others in harmony with the administration. During the period referred to, the Rebellion was in progress and caused sharp differences of opinion among the loyal people. In addition to this there was a nation-wide and constantly growing struggle between the radical and conservative wings of the party in power respecting the policy which should be pursued by the government concerning the institution of slavery.

There were some who at that time believed the administration should at once resort to extreme measures for the immediate destruction of slavery as a righteous retribution for a great wrong and also as a means for the preservation of the nation. The other wing of the party was in heart and spirit opposed to slavery but feared that any action of the government against that institution would divide the loyal people and endanger the preservation of the Union.

From earliest recollection I had been an ardent abolitionist, therefore my sympathies were with the radical portion of the loyal people. But I was always a devoted friend and admirer of Abraham Lincoln and fully believed, and openly declared that, as early as was safe to do so, he would pursue the course we desired. But my opposition to slavery was so pronounced that I was in close party fellowship with the radicals, attending their special meetings, and thus being kept constantly informed respecting their plans relative to slavery.

During all that summer and autumn it was hoped that in his forthcoming regular message President Lincoln would

make known his policy upon this subject, and well do I remember with what impatience I waited for the appearance of that message, and with what a degree of interest I secured and read a copy telegraphed to the papers throughout the nation on the day it was presented to Congress. In those days the President's message, when delivered to Congress, was telegraphed to the newspapers throughout the country and was by those papers published with more or less fullness the next day. After it had been delivered to Congress a printed copy of the message was also mailed to the newspapers throughout the country, and when it was received was helpful in correcting any errors which might have crept into the copy which previously had been sent by wire.

The next day after that message was presented to Congress I secured a paper at my Ohio home containing the full text of the message as sent by wire to the newspapers. With intense interest I at once gave attention to this important document, and in so doing soon found the following:

"We should not be in haste to determine what radical and extreme measures which may reach the loyal as well as the disloyal, are indispensable."

Many times I read this passage with inexpressible delight assured that it could not be less than an implied declaration by the President that "radical and extreme measures" were or would be needed, but that "we should not be in haste to determine" what measures of that character to choose. Of course, we were expected to employ "radical and extreme measures," or the government would not thus proclaim its purpose to select such measures with care and deliberation. In my exuberance of spirits I could see slavery speedily vanish under such a wise and timely policy.

But all this depended upon just one letter remaining in the place it occupied in the portion of that message above quoted. To substitute for that one letter another letter which might be chosen would change the policy of the administration from radical to conservative, and would cause our vision

of the immediate and utter overthrow of slavery to vanish like a dream.

And that is just what occurred. The correct message, when it appeared a few days later, printed just as President Lincoln wrote it with "t" occupying the place which the telegraph operator assigned to "w," thereby changed "what" to "that," and indicated that President Lincoln would not "be in haste" to commit the government to the emancipation policy.

I can feel today painful remnants of the disappointment I experienced when my high hopes of an immediate declaration of emancipation were thus dashed to the ground. It was not long, however, until it became evident to the most radical of Mr. Lincoln's supporters that he was pursuing the wise and proper course.

On page 52, Volume VII., Complete Works of Abraham Lincoln, is the sentence here referred to. Many times during the last five decades I have spoken of the remarkable error in its first publication, and no one to whom I ever have mentioned the matter had any previous knowledge of the occurrence. Such an error could not now occur in the publication of a regular message of the President, as that document is now sent in printed form to the newspapers in advance, and is released for publication when it is presented to Congress. The magnitude of the task of transmitting the message by telegraph, as was formerly the custom, is indicated by the following from the New York *Tribune* of March 5th, 1861:

"The manner in which President Lincoln's (first) inaugural was transmitted by telegraph is deserving special commendation. The American Telegraph Company, under the able management of E. S. Sanford, Esq., vice-president, placed at the disposal of the Associated Press three wires between Washington and this city. The delivery of the inaugural commenced at 1:30 o'clock Washington time, and the telegraphers promptly to the minute began its transmission

to New York. The first words of the message were received by the agent of the press here at 1:45 o'clock and the last at about three thirty, while the entire document was furnished to the different newspapers by 4:00 o'clock. Such rapidity in telegraphic communication has never before been reached in this country, and it should be a source of pride to the American Company, and its president and operators, that so notable an act has been accomplished. We understand that a full synopsis of the inaugural was yesterday evening transmitted to St. Johns, N. F., thence to be forwarded by steam tug to intercept the Steamship Fulton, bound to Europe, off Cape Race."

LINCOLN'S CHASTENESS IN CONVERSATION

Major Hay and Mr. Nicolay, Mr. Lincoln's secretaries, were members of his household during a large portion of his official term—Mr. Carpenter, the artist, lived in the White House during six months—Professor Henry sought every opportunity to be with him, and these four witnesses, who saw him in his unconstrained private life, agree that neither of them heard from Mr. Lincoln's lips any sentence or word which might not have been repeated in the presence of ladies. The subject is one upon which I can give evidence. It was a great pleasure to me to listen to him, and I have several times sought to excite his propensity for anecdote with success. In my own office, where no one but a messenger was present, he was under no restraint. Yet I never heard him relate a story or utter a sentence which I could not have repeated to my wife and daughters—*L. E. Chittenden.*

HIS FAVORITE SONG

In the winter of 1863 President Lincoln attended an anniversary meeting of the Christian Commission, held in the hall of the House of Representatives at Washington. With characteristic modesty he declined a seat on the platform, but

manifested deep interest in the proceedings. During the program Philip Phillips sang "Your Mission," a song very popular at that time. Near the close of the exercises the President quietly sent the presiding officer the following note: "Please have Mr. Phillips repeat the song—Your Mission. Do not say I called for it."

It was not my good fortune to be present on that occasion, but two years later I attended a similar affair and heard Mr. Phillips relate the foregoing incident while holding in his hands Mr. Lincoln's written request. Looking down at the reporters who sat before him, Mr. Phillips said to us, "Do not think you will get this, gentlemen of the press, for you will not. Copy it as I read it, if you wish, but you cannot have it at any price." We gladly accepted this invitation and the reader here has the note just as it was read by Mr. Phillips.

The following is the song referred to:

YOUR MISSION

If you cannot on the ocean
  Sail among the swiftest fleet,
Rocking on the highest billow,
  Laughing at the storms you meet,
You can stand among the sailors,
  Anchored yet within the bay,
You can lend a hand to help them,
  As they launch their boats away.

If you are too weak to journey
  Up the mountain, steep and high,
You can stand within the valley,
  Where the multitudes go by.
You can chant in happy measure,
  As they slowly pass along;
Though they may forget the singer,
  They will not forget the song.

If you cannot, in the harvest,
Gather up the richest sheaves,
Many a grain both ripe and golden,
Oft the careless reaper leaves—
Go and glean among the briars
Growing rank against the wall,
For it may be that their shadow
Hides the heaviest wheat of all.

If you have not gold and silver
Ever ready to command;
If you cannot toward the needy
Reach an ever open hand;
You can visit the afflicted,
O'er the erring you can weep,
With the Saviour's true disciples,
You a patient watch may keep.

If you cannot in the conflict
Prove yourself a soldier true,
If where fire and smoke are thickest,
There's no work for you to do,
When the battlefield is silent,
You can go with careful tread,
You can bear away the wounded,
You can cover up the dead.

Do not, then, stand idly waiting
For some greater work to do;
Fortune is a lazy goddess,
She will never come to you.
Go and toil in any vineyard,
Do not fear to do or dare,
If you want a field of labor,
You can find it anywhere.

—*Mrs. Ellen Huntington Gates.*
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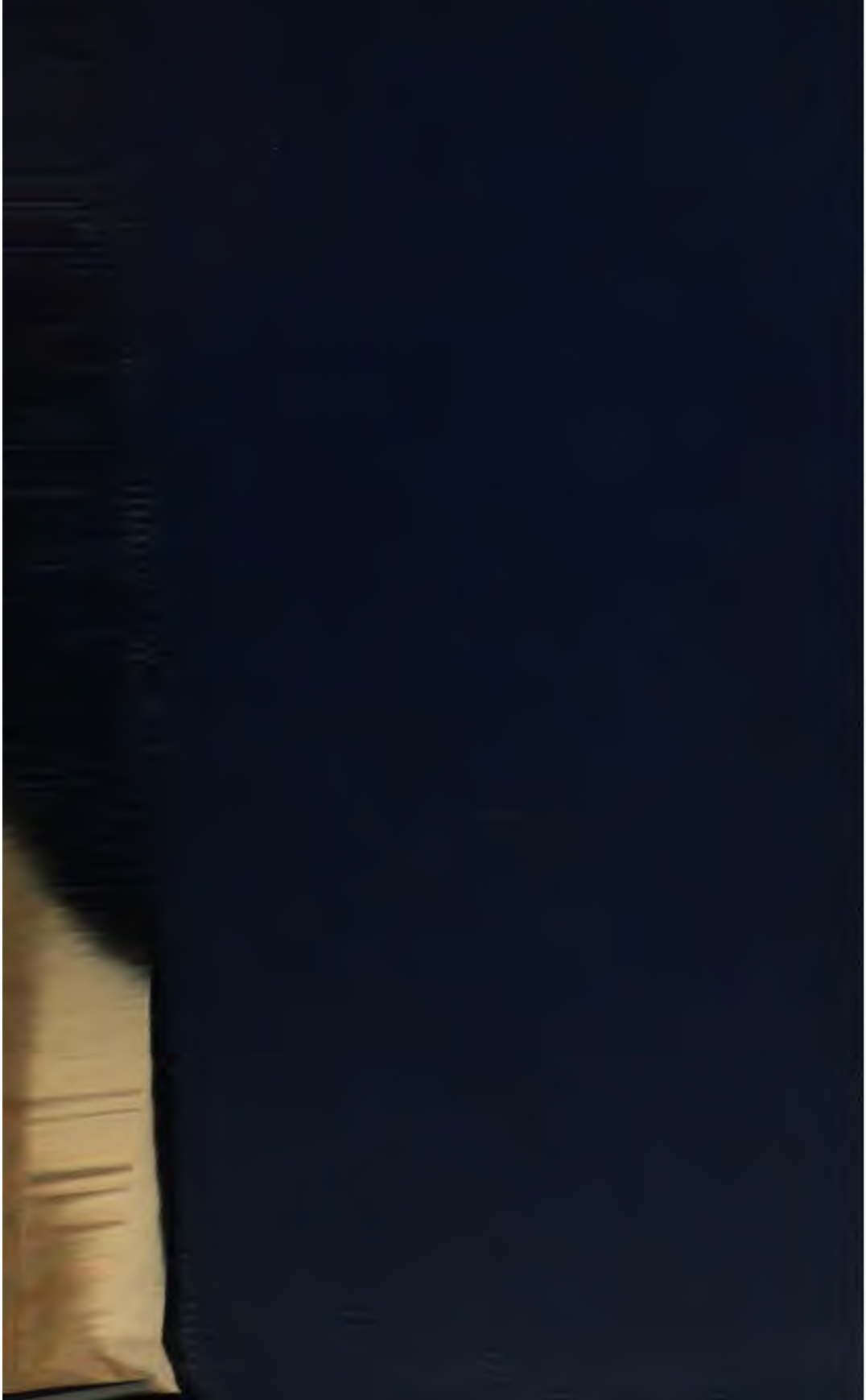
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